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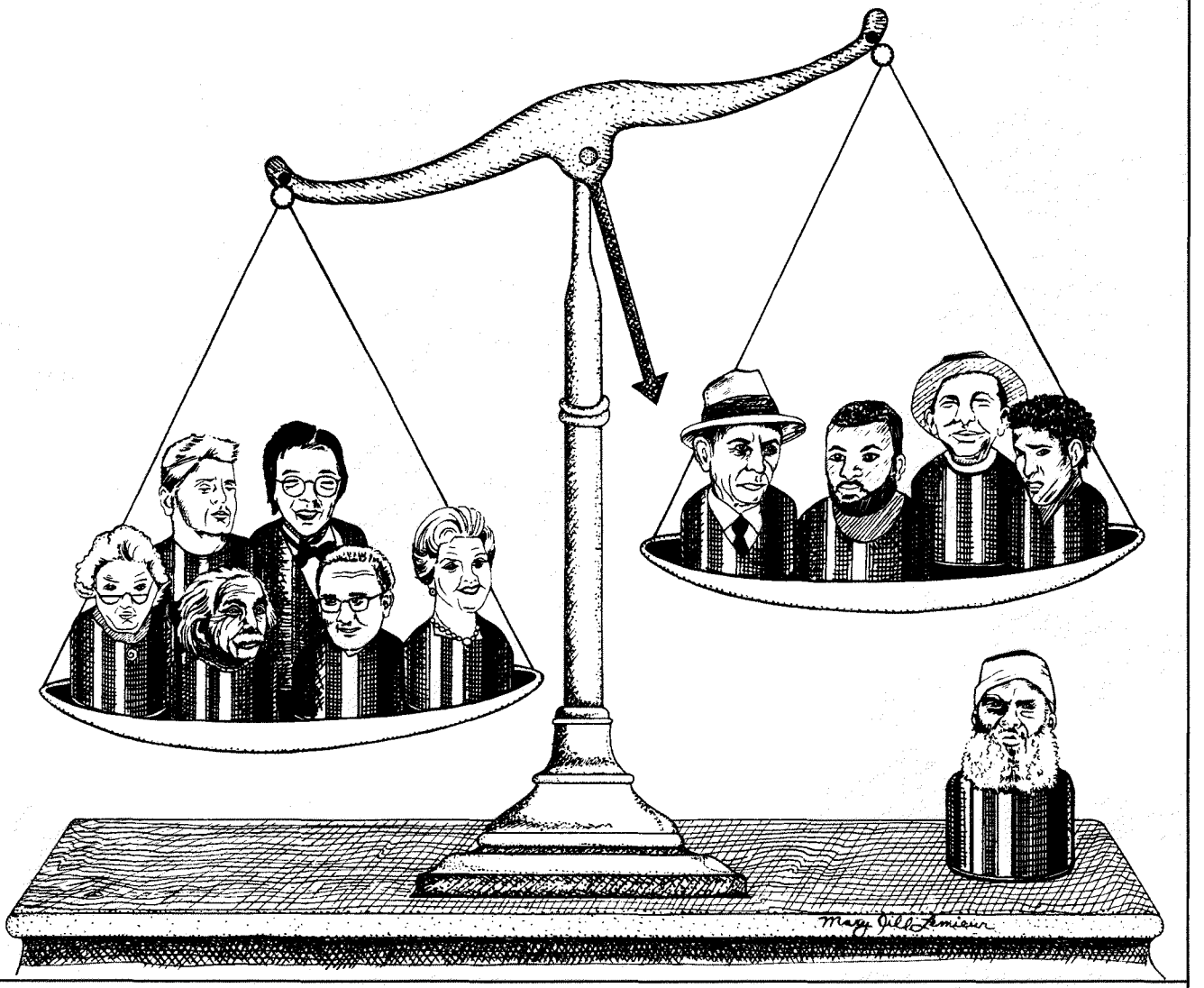
THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Vol. VI, No. 1 Fall 1995

Infamous Immigrants



Weighing the Arguments

Acknowledging the Negative Aspects of Immigration

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A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Just over two decades ago, concern over rapidly growing human population led to the development of the so-called "population movement" aimed at reducing the rate of population growth, both at home and abroad. At home, for a variety of reasons, birth rates fell sharply to sub-replacement levels. However, immigration grew steadily due, in significant measure, to the burgeoning population overseas. Today, human numbers world wide expand at about 10,000 per hour, a quarter of a million each day, 90 million a year.

The combined circumstances of low birth rates and high immigration pressures pose for all the developed countries the three most fundamental questions of immigration policy:

1. **How** many people should we admit, and **what factors** should be taken into account in setting this limit?
2. **Who** should be chosen to immigrate, and **what criteria** should be used for choosing?
3. **How** can we humanely enforce the rules we decide upon?

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT seeks to explore and illuminate these questions by publishing new material, and also by pulling together and reprinting existing works from many now-scattered sources. Our goal is to provide a periodical devoted to the interrelated topics of:

- **Human population** questions, including its absolute size, rate of growth, and distribution. In nations with low natural increase and high immigration, the latter is a significant component of population growth. (In an ideal world, policy on immigrant numbers would derive from a national population policy.)
- **Immigration policy**, especially as it relates to the three basic policy questions mentioned above: how many, who, and how?
- **Language, assimilation, and national unity** considerations, which in large measure derive from and are driven by immigration and assimilation policies.
- **The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities** since, as with many issues today, population, immigration and language questions are often framed in terms of 'rights.' What is the proper balance of individual and community rights and interests?

Our method for approaching these connected issues is the time-honored concept of "The Social Contract." Most great public issues are basically moral and ethical ones: What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When 'rights' collide, which ones take precedence? The discipline of thinking through these issues in terms of a Social Contract allows one to achieve a balance: of individual and community interests; of the short and the long term; and of utopian idealism and the realities of the world in which we live.

But most importantly, THE SOCIAL CONTRACT is not a detached forum for discussion in some backwater of life. Our issues are all in the forefront of public policy discussions in the United States, which is our primary focus. Our Editorial Advisors are drawn from many of the main organizations trying to influence the course of policy in the issue areas we have chosen. Our journal is one of the tools they use to raise questions, debate themes, and communicate ideas — to encourage vigorous public debate and subsequent changes in our laws and public policies.

We invite you to take part in this Great Debate by reading and contributing to THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

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Looking for Balance

Editorial

Are immigrants in any sense the saviors of mankind, or of the United States? Many proponents of large scale and expansive immigration policies apparently think so, given their fondness for phrases such as "Immigration is what made America great," and "We are a nation of immigrants."

In support of the first phrase they frequently offer a list of famous immigrants, as former New York City mayor Ed Koch did recently in a column attacking Peter Brimelow and his book *Alien Nation*. Here is Koch's list:

> *Are we sorry today that the refugees and immigrants that we welcomed included Albert Einstein, Arturo Toscanini, Madeleine Albright, I.M. Pei, Patrick Ewing, John Shalikashvili, Henry Kissinger, Martina Navratilova, A.M. Rosenthal, Mikhail Baryshnikov, Yo-Yo Ma, Max Frankel, Sidney Poitier, Dr. Ruth Westheimer, Roberto Goizueta, Angela Lansbury and Jaime Escalante? I glory in those names...*[1]

But as Jim Robb demonstrates in his lead article, "Infamous Immigrants," one must take the bitter with the sweet. Not all immigrants are great contributors. An evaluation of immigration requires at the minimum a balancing of pluses and minuses.

As to the "We are a nation of immigrants" cliche, it is simply not accurate. A recent Census Bureau report reveals that, at present, about one in eleven U.S. residents is an immigrant. *Per contra*, ten in eleven are not, *ergo* we are a nation of native-born Americans, and have been so virtually from the beginning. Even in the heyday of immigration in the early 1900s the percentage of foreign born in the population did not go much above 20 percent — that is to say, the percentage of native born did not fall below 70 percent.

But that is an aside. How essential are immigrants to our social, cultural and economic progress? Certainly there have been some outstanding examples, as Mayor Koch listed. But the major proportion of our toil, sweat and tears — and innovation — must have come from those who make up the bulk of the populace, the native born.

Can that assertion be tested? One way would be to look over a list of influential Americans and see how many of them are immigrants. While there are many lists of influential books, I have not been able to find an analogous list of influential Americans (and would be grateful for such a reference if the reader knows of one.)

However, such a listing for the whole world, North and South, East and West, has been put forward by Michael Hart in *The 100, A Ranking of the Most Influential Persons in History*.[2] Perhaps a look at the role of immigrants in the human enterprise in general and throughout world history can throw some light on the question of the role of immigrants in the advancement of our own society.

Hart's book is not as presumptuous as it's title might suggest. His method is to write a three to five page essay on each person selected, analyzing the influence the individual had, and giving his reasons for the ranking assigned. His standard has not been simple fame, nor is everyone on the list benevolent — some of the great rascals of history are included. Hart wrestles with the classic question of whether someone else would have invented the light bulb or fought France's wars if Edison and Napoleon had never been born. In the end he invites readers to compile their own lists. This is a nice bedside book that can expose one to a lot of history, and to a good many people that I, at least, had never heard of before.

The sidebar (see next page) contains Hart's list in order of influence on world affairs. I have printed in boldface type the name of each entrant whose notable work in my judgment was done outside his native land. All of the rest made their contributions as native-born persons working in their country of birth.

As is readily apparent, most of these people did their work at home. Of the 21 who made their mark on the world in foreign lands, 11 were military men or conquerors: Christopher Columbus, Genghis Khan, Alexander the Great, Napoleon Bonaparte, Simón Bolívar, Julius Caesar, Francisco Pizarro, Hernando Cortés, William the Conqueror, Charlemagne and Cyrus the Great.

There are five scientists: Albert Einstein, Alexander Graham Bell, Enrico Fermi, Leonhard Euler and Niels Bohr. Of these, only Fermi (who left Fascist Italy in 1938) and Bohr (whose mother was Jewish and who thus felt it prudent in 1943 to leave Denmark) did the work, as emigrants, for which they

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are known. Einstein's main work was done before he left Europe at age 54; Euler left his native Switzerland at the invitation of first Russia and then Prussia to do his mathematical work, and Bell left Scotland for Canada as a young man and migrated to the U.S. before his career as an inventor started.

That leaves us with three religious leaders who did their work outside their native land: Moses, St. Paul (who made use of his empire-wide Roman citizenship), and John Calvin. Finally, there are two philosophers, if that is the right word for the first of this pair: Marx, who spent his latter years in London where he wrote *Das Kapital,* and René Descartes who chose to live in Holland rather than his native France.

From this we can conclude that from a world wide perspective, and going back through the millennia, most influential people did their work in the country of their birth. Immigration has not been central to the advancement of the human enterprise.

In addition to Jim Robb's essay we present other examples of "infamous immigrants" in our lead section, hoping — to reiterate our purpose — to aid in the development of a more balanced assessment of the pluses and minuses of international migration.

Our center section is an eclectic collection ranging from the serious ("Damit die Deutschen nicht Aussterben") to the humorous (by Mike Royko). The articles come from around the world — immigration is not just a North American problem. Our book review section is equally interesting and can save you reading time on volumes with which you will want to be familiar.

We're pleased to report that Jim Robb's article from our previous issue on the Vatican's immigration policy came in for notice in light of Pope John Paul II's visit to the U.S. with his calls for an open-ended U.S. immigration policy. Charity should start at home, with the Vatican leading through example and opening its doors to immigrants — without limit.

John Tanton
Editor and Publisher

The 100: A Ranking of the Most Influential Persons in History

1. Muhammad
2. Isaac Newton
3. Jesus Christ
4. Buddha
5. Confucius
6. **St. Paul**
7. Ts'ai Lun
8. Johann Gutenberg
9. **Christopher Columbus**
10. **Albert Einstein**
11. **Karl Marx**
12. Louis Pasteur
13. Galileo Galilei
14. Aristotle
15. Lenin
16. **Moses**
17. Charles Darwin
18. Shih Huang Ti
19. Augustus Caesar
20. Mao Tse-tung
21. **Genghis Khan**
22. Euclid
23. Martin Luther
24. Nicolaus Copernicus
25. James Watt
26. Constantine the Great
27. George Washington
28. Michael Faraday
29. James Clark Maxwell
30. Orville and Wilbur Wright
31. Antoine Laurent Lavoisier
32. Sigmund Freud
33. **Alexander the Great**
34. **Napoleon Bonaparte**
35. Adolf Hitler
36. William Shakespeare
37. Adam Smith
38. Thomas Edison
39. Anthony van Leeuwenhoek
40. Plato
41. Guglielmo Marconi
42. Ludwig van Beethoven
43. Werner Heisenberg
44. **Alexander Graham Bell**
45. Alexander Fleming
46. **Simón Bolívar**
47. Oliver Cromwell
48. John Locke
49. Michelangelo
50. Pope Urban II
51. 'Umar ibn al-Khattab
52. Asoka
53. St. Augustine
54. Max Planck
55. **John Calvin**
56. William T. G. Morton
57. William Harvey
58. Antoine Henri Becquerel
59. Gregor Mendel
60. Joseph Lister
61. Nikolaus Ăugust Otto
62. Louis Daguerre
63. Joseph Stalin
64. **René Descartes**
65. **Julius Caesar**
66. **Francisco Pizarro**
67. **Hernando Cortés**
68. Queen Isabella I
69. **William the Conqueror**
70. Thomas Jefferson
71. Jean-Jacques Rousseau
72. Edward Jenner
73. Wilhelm Conrad Röntgen
74. Johann Sebastian Bach
75. Lao Tzu
76. **Enrico Fermi**
77. Thomas Malthus
78. Francis Bacon
79. Voltaire
80. John F. Kennedy
81. Gregory Pincus
82. Sui Wen Ti
83. Mani
84. **Vasco da Gama**
85. **Charlemagne**
86. **Cyrus the Great**
87. **Leonhard Euler**
88. Niccolo Machiavelli
89. Zoroaster
90. Menes
91. Peter the Great
92. Mencius
93. John Dalton
94. Homer
95. Queen Elizabeth
96. Justinian I
97. Johannes Kepler
98. Pablo Picasso
99. Mahavira
100. **Niels Bohr**

NOTES

[1] Koch, Ed, "In Defense of Immigrants," *The New York Post*, June 10, 1995.

[2] Hart, Michael H., *The 100, A Ranking of the Most Influential Persons in History*. New York: Citadel Press, 1992, ISBN 0-8065-1350-0, 556pp. [Note: This editorial uses the list from Hart's 1978 edition which is nearly identical to the 1992 list.]

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Jim Robb is a writer, video producer and senior researcher with THE SOCIAL CONTRACT. *He resides in Arlington, Virginia.*

Infamous Immigrants

Here's Proof All Newcomers Aren't Albert Einsteins

By James S. Robb

Those who would keep the doors of entry to the U.S. wide open into the indefinite future, allowing a million new immigrants in each year, often argue that the nation can't afford to limit immigration.

What, they ask, would we have done without the Yo Yo Mas and Albert Einsteins and I. M. Peis, and the thousand other illustrious immigrants? Indeed, patience is required to sit through the roll call of worthy and famous newcomers. Hardly discussed, however, is another roll, that of America's *in*famous immigrants — those persons who have come and used this nation and its people, taking advantage of our democratic form of government and easy-going ways.

Unpleasant as it is, we should take a few minutes to balance the debate and remind ourselves that more than one kind of newcomer is waiting at the gates.

Here's a sampling from our past and present of some infamous immigrants

Giuseppe Esposito — Father of the Mafia in America

Few classes of immigrants in all American history have acted the role of the parasite quite so thoroughly as has the Italian Mafia. Throughout the 20th century this group of vicious criminals has challenged our whole system of law enforcement to the near-breaking point.

At times "the mob" has been said to control whole cities, or at least exercise a sort of criminal and political hegemony over them. It has corrupted entire labor unions (remember Jimmy Hoffa's Teamsters?), pockets of industry (trucking and private trash collection in New York City until quite recently), and more than one police force (too numerous to mention). Until Congress and the FBI came upon the ingenious Racketeering and Criminal Organization Act (RICO), little could be done to stop them. New members of the Italian immigrant community, or fresh arrivals from Italy itself, would be recruited as quickly as individual criminals could be arrested (or were killed off by rivals).

Just as every epidemic has its "Alpha" case, so too the Mafia had its first chieftain in America. His name was Giuseppe Esposito, or at least that was the alias he used during his multiple-year crime spree in America.

Esposito rose to criminal infamy in his native Sicily, where he had been merely an ordinary thief and killer until he helped commit a notorious international crime in 1876. He and some fellow Mafiosi kidnapped a 22-year old English investment banker named John Forester Rose while the young man was in Sicily inspecting his family's sulfur mines.

The kidnappers informed Rose's family they must pay £5,000 or face the dismemberment of Rose. Being principled people, the Roses refused to negotiate. Through the mail the horrified family received one ear, and then the other. Then Esposito and company began work on Rose's nose. Finally, Rose's young wife defied her in-laws and paid as much as she could raise. Her husband lived to tell about it.

Unfortunately for Esposito, and ultimately for America, the British government informed the Italian authorities that they must either arrest and punish the kidnappers or British troops would be landed to do it for them. This warning effectively invigorated Italian justice and most of the gang was rounded up after they mounted a furious and bloody last stand.

A corrupt official allowed some of the accused to escape, however, including Esposito. During the next year, Esposito went on a killing spree, personally murdering 11 wealthy landowners and two city officials. The Italian government began to search for him with greater zeal, and Esposito decided a relocation of his business was in order.

The man emigrated to America to start a new life: organizing the Mafia here. He began in New York's Little Italy neighborhood, where many of the more than 4 million Italians who migrated to America

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between 1880 and 1920 located. This and other Italian enclaves in big U.S. cities quickly began to model themselves after the culture of their native (mostly southern) Italy — including a tolerance for the deadly grip of the Mafia.

Blackmail was perhaps the biggest business. The term was invented by the Italians, and referred to the practice of sending extortionist letters to victims, usually fellow immigrants, demanding cash and threatening deadly results if they were refused. The letters were usually signed by a black silhouette of a hand, often wielding a knife. Since the threats were usually carried out, most people paid up. Many of the hold-outs were murdered, and few of their assassins were ever caught.

"The damage to America had been done, however. Once organized, the Mafia never drifted into freelance or disorganized crime again."

Esposito found these and other criminal activities already well established in New York, but not organized. He meant to remedy that. First, however, he moved on to New Orleans, home of another great Italian enclave. In the perverse logic understood perhaps only by the Sicilians themselves, this criminal parasite became a celebrity among his countrymen, even though they knew full well any of them might be his next victim.

He dressed expensively, dined at the best eateries, and sailed his private yacht with what he called the Mafia flag flying from the masthead. Effortlessly, it seemed, he soon had the city's Italian criminals working for him. Policemen and city officials were bought off. For a few years he reigned without challenge.

Then the Italian government stepped in. It seems Esposito's wife back in Sicily had learned her husband was openly keeping a mistress in New Orleans. Distressed with this news, she revenged herself by informing on his whereabouts to the government. The Italian consul in New Orleans asked the police to arrest and deport the man.

On July 5, 1881, Esposito was arrested by a fearless Irish-American officer, David Hennessey, and returned to Italy via New York, despite the efforts of numerous corrupt officials to block deportation. He spent the rest of his life in chains in an Italian prison.

The damage to America had been done, however. Once organized, the Mafia never drifted into freelance or disorganized crime again. Hennessey became a mob-busting chief of police in New Orleans and was later assassinated by the mob there. That in turn led to a mockery of a trial in which police officers, purchased by the Mafia, provided alibis for the killers.

Following the assassins' acquittal, however, enraged citizens of New Orleans hunted down the suspects and lynched them publicly, and engaged in extensive anti-Italian rioting.[1]

Donovan Ellis: The Man With 26 Aliases

Donovan Ellis is registered as a citizen of Jamaica, but he has spent the bulk of his ignoble existence in the United States. He is not what one would call a big-time criminal, but he certainly qualifies as a steady and determined one.

In his 20-odd years in America, Ellis has been arrested at least 50 times for a variety of crimes including possession of firearms, possession of drugs, selling of drugs, armed robbery, shooting a gun in an occupied dwelling, battery of a policeman, illegal re-entry of the country, etc., etc.

In 1993 Ellis made a colorful witness at the U.S. Senate's Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations hearing on alien criminals. He reported that he had first come to the U.S. in 1965 on a student visa, later returned home, only to re-enter America to start his life of crime.

The witness, amiable and apparently forthcoming with his questioners, explained how his adoption of one false name after another kept the INS off the scent nearly every one of the 50 times he was arrested. He was convicted of most of the charges, but again, his 26 aliases enabled him to successfully mix back into the population when he wasn't actually behind bars.

At the time of his testimony Ellis was serving a 17-year sentence for selling crack cocaine. He reported he had 42 persons working for him when he was arrested. He had been operating this "mini-Mafia" several years *after* his official deportation from this country, which happened in 1985.

Actually, the INS made plans to deport Ellis even earlier, in 1983, when he was serving time in a

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Connecticut jail, but the agency never showed up at the jail to pick him up. On another occasion Ellis was actually ordered deported, but never left the country. Most times, however, the INS never even questioned him, even though he often told his jailers he had been born in Canada.

After his 1985 deportation, the Jamaican returned in only two weeks. From the hearing:

> *Senator Roth:* And how soon after you were deported to Jamaica did you return to the United States?
> *Mr. Ellis:* Two weeks.
> *Senator Roth:* Just 2 weeks?
> *Mr. Ellis:* Two weeks, sir; yes, sir.
> *Senator Roth:* How did you return to the U.S.?
> *Mr. Ellis:* Well, all you need to travel to the United States is just three pieces of documents, which is social security, a picture I.D. and a voter registration. That is it.
> *Senator Roth:* Were they false?
> *Mr. Ellis:* Yes, sir, definitely.

Apparently, Canada has found it difficult keeping the man of 26 aliases out as well. Ottawa has deported him four times.[2]

Sirhan Sirhan: Dasher of a Million Hopes

Whether Bobby Kennedy, the charismatic younger brother of President John F. Kennedy, would have fulfilled the unbounded hopes millions of earnest Americans were beginning to place in him will never be known.

Late in the primary season of the 1968 presidential campaign, Kennedy was beginning to look like a come-from-behind winner, threatening to upset the front-running Hubert Humphrey. He had actually entered the race very late, only after President Lyndon Johnson pulled out and the democratic rank-and-file began showing obvious restiveness with his heir-successor, Vice President Humphrey. Kennedy ran on a platform of hope for the poor and an early end to the Vietnam War.

He had only to win the California Democratic primary on June 4, 1968 to give himself an excellent chance of triumphing at the convention. He won the primary, but the rest of the scenario was not to be.

Just after midnight on June 5, following Bobby Kennedy's victory speech to campaign workers at Los Angeles' Ambassador Hotel, Sirhan Sirhan, a young Jordanian immigrant of ethnic Christian Arab stock, emptied his revolver into the New York Senator at point-blank range, mortally wounding him and striking two bystanders. Roosevelt Grier, the great African-American football player and volunteer for the Kennedy campaign, wrestled the young assailant to the ground. The next day the candidate was dead.

The nation went into profound shock. This assassination had come only two months after the murder of Martin Luther King, Jr., and four and one-half years after the assassination of President Kennedy. Many Americans trace the end of their idealism to the younger Kennedy's murder.

Sirhan was captured immediately at the scene of the crime. Found in his home the next day was a notebook explaining his motive. He had written that Kennedy must die before June 5, 1968, which was the first anniversary of the six-day war, in which Israel smashed the attacking armies of Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. Kennedy was the target because of his outspoken support of the Jewish state in the U.S. Senate and in the campaign.

The Jordanian kept to his self-imposed deadline.

The Sirhan family had come to New York in 1957, just after the Suez war, when the young Sirhan Sirhan was 12. The parents did not get along, so Mrs. Sirhan and her five children moved on to California. The father later moved back to Jordan. Hearing about the assassination from reporters, the elder Sirhan said indignantly, "This news made me sick when I heard it. If my son has done this dirty thing, let them hang him."

Quickly convicted and sentenced to death, Sirhan was saved from the electric chair only by the Supreme Court's 1972 decision striking down the death penalty as it was then administered. He still resides in a California prison, regularly refused release by the parole board.[3]

Michael Flannery: Financier to the Irish Republican Army

Perhaps surpassed only by the PLO for terrorist activity, Ireland's notorious Irish Republican Army has been a constant source of terror in Ireland and England for more than 25 years. Restaurants, department stores, marketplaces, all have been the

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targets of IRA bombs. British soldiers have been killed by the hundreds, and numerous prominent civilians have been assassinated.

Chief among these was the murder of the elderly Lord Mountbatten, the much-loved English aristocrat who was vacationing in Ireland with his family. A 50-pound explosive device ripped apart the boat on which he and his family were fishing, shocking the world.

The goal of the IRA has been to bully Great Britain into renouncing its claims to the six northern counties of Ireland, even though the majority of the Ulster Irish support British rule.

For many years a major source of funding and arms for the IRA has been an organization called Irish Northern Aid, or Noraid for short. The founder and prime mover of Noraid was Michael Flannery, who immigrated to the U.S. in 1927. In his youth, Flannery fought as a guerrilla in the IRA struggle to gain Irish independence. When the Irish parliament cut a political deal with Britain agreeing to the partition of the island in exchange for the south's independence, Flannery and many other radicals felt betrayed.

"It quickly became obvious that Michael Flannery and his Noraid organization were gun runners as well as fundraisers."

He believed that Northern Ireland should be joined to the Republic of Ireland by force, no matter how long it took. His view was not shared by all. In fact, it was the Irish Republic that jailed him when he joined in the civil war which broke out as a protest against the partition. After spending two years in an Irish jail, Flannery headed for America.

After arriving in New York, Flannery went to work for the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, becoming an affluent businessman and a leader in the Irish-American community. But his political convictions never wavered. In 1969, when the IRA began its modern-day campaign of terror to force the uniting of Northern Ireland with the Republic, IRA operatives approached Flannery about the need for financial support.

He learned, however, that getting funds to the IRA was a tricky business. His initial contribution in the form of a $5,000 check was returned by the Belfast bank uncashed. Flannery then founded Noraid as a front organization to channel funds more effectively. During the 1970s, Noraid became something of a *cause celebre*, with Irish-American politicians, union officials, and businessmen eagerly attending its fundraising dinners. Ninety-two regional chapters sprang up and more than 5,000 dues-paying members became involved. Public opinion in the U.S. seemed to be turning in the IRA's direction.

Then Noraid suffered a series of reverses. Four prominent Irish-American politicians — Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Senator Ted Kennedy, House Speaker Tip O'Neill, and New York Governor Hugh Carey — released a statement condemning activities which support the IRA. Then, in 1979, the murder of Mountbatten outraged Americans and support for Noraid diminished markedly.

Perhaps most importantly, the FBI began cooperating with Great Britain in stopping arms-running to the IRA from America. Noraid soon became a primary focus of the investigation. It quickly became obvious that Michael Flannery and his Noraid organization were gun runners as well as fundraisers.

In 1981, Flannery was arrested as he left his home, accused of smuggling arms to the Irish Republican Army. Unfortunately, although Flannery and his fellow defendants admitted in court they were guilty of the offense, they claimed the CIA was behind it all. And since the CIA had indeed used one of the defendants as an informer concerning the IRA, the wild charge sounded plausible enough to result in acquittals.

Flannery managed to avoid prison and deportation, but his organization continued to decline in strength.[4]

Rosario Ames: Spendthrift Cheerleader to a Traitor

Rosario Ames was the intellectual daughter of a rising middle-class Colombian family, when she met and married CIA operative Aldrich Ames, while the American was stationed in her country.

If anything, Rosario could be described as a conservative. The Colombian magazine *Semana* said that for a child of the 1960s, Rosario was remarkably "immune to marijuana, the Beatles and rebellion."[5] She made it a point to avoid ideological political discussions. She lived quietly at home with her parents until she was nearly 30, and actually went through the

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university with her mother, the two sometimes sitting in the same classrooms.

But then she married the colorful Aldrich Ames, emigrated to America, and set up housekeeping on a rather lavish scale. The couple purchased a half-million dollar suburban home, drove a Jaguar, and spent freely on clothing and gifts. Not needing to work, Mrs. Ames pursued a Ph.D. degree in philosophy at Georgetown University.

It was Rosario's expensive tastes rather than any political agenda that made her eager to cooperate with her husband's sideline job — that of traitorous "mole" for the Soviet (and later Russian) KGB.

Apparently, she was ignorant of her husband's crimes for the first few years of their marriage. It was the money that got her interested. *The Washington Post* described her as a "greedy co-conspirator who enthusiastically aided and abetted after discovering her husband's secret by going through his wallet in 1991." Once she discovered that helping the Soviets was bringing them literally millions of dollars she became actively involved in his espionage activities.

It has been documented that Aldrich Ames' leaks to the KGB caused the deaths of at least 10 U.S. agents in the Soviet Union, and compromised countless others. His immigrant wife went along with the traitor without blinking, merely for the love of money.

Eventually, the CIA and FBI became suspicious, in part because of the Ames' lavish lifestyle. They were investigated, and finally arrested in early 1994. Pleading guilty, she received a short five-year prison sentence, a concession Aldrich Ames extracted from the government in exchange for his cooperation and guilty plea.

Vyacheslav Kirillovich Ivankov: Leader of the "Thieves-in-Law"

On June 8, 1995, Vyacheslav Ivankov, the highest-ranking Russian mobster in America, was arrested at his girlfriend's New York City apartment. FBI agent James Kallstrom called the move "the most important arrest ever made" against the fast-growing Russian Mafia in the U.S.[6]

American authorities are scrambling to stop the Russian mob before it becomes as entrenched in this country as the Sicilian Mafia. The pattern the two criminal enterprises have followed in their rise to infamy is uncomfortably familiar. First, serious but loose-knit criminal activity springs up among the early immigrants. Then, with a massive, uncontrolled influx of immigrants come mob bosses from the old country, ready to whip America's fledgling ethnic crime organizations into shape.

In this case, several hundred thousand Russian Jews and political dissidents were allowed to come to America in the 1970s, settling mostly in New York's "Little Odessa." The criminal element among them soon started working such scams as gas tax fraud. But when the Soviet Union collapsed, a new outpouring of immigrants arrived, this time bringing organized crime bosses with them.

Ivankov entered the country illegally in 1991 or 1992 to help organize the Russian mob here. He was a member of the so-called "thieves-in-law," underworld bosses who never cooperated with Soviet authorities and who act as the administrative heads of the various Russian underworld "families."

"He was the most senior [Russian] crime figure in the U.S.," commented Stephen Handelman, author of *Comrade Citizen: Russia's New Mafia*, "and basically he's been trying to take over the existing networks of small-time Russian groups and consolidate them into a professional organization."[7]

The viciousness of the crime Ivankov was arrested for demonstrates the threat this group of immigrant criminals represents. Ivankov and five other Russians were picked up for trying to extort $3.5 million from two Russian immigrant investors, Alexander Volkov and Vladimir Voloshin. Ivankov and his cohorts threatened to kill Voloshin's father back in Russia unless the investors paid the money. They didn't pay, and the old man was subsequently beaten to death, his body left on a Moscow train station platform.

Next, the investors themselves were kidnapped and literally forced to sign an agreement saying they would pay the money. By this time, however, Russian and American authorities were investigating and in June, 1995 the FBI moved in.

Unfortunately, everyone involved realizes rooting out the Russian mob will take years, if it can be done at all. The arrest of Ivankov was only "a shot across their bow," said FBI Agent Kallstrom. Yet authorities hope the Russian "mafia" will get the message that at least they cannot buy their way out of trouble here, as they did back home.

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Lord Cornbury: Cross-Dressing Colonial Governor of New York

Lest the impression be given that white Anglo-Saxon Protestants are exempt from a list of the infamous, the case of Edward Hyde, better known as Lord Cornbury, needs telling.

Cornbury was sent from England at the turn of the eighteenth century by his first cousin, the young Queen Anne, to govern the colony of New York. With his royal connections and his years of experience in the British Parliament, New Yorkers felt they were getting an excellent choice. It was not long before they were disillusioned.

"They [colonial New Yorkers] soon learned that Cornbury was a "thief, a bigot, a grafter, a drunk, and, strange as it was, a transvestite."

According to historian Shelley Ross, they soon learned that Cornbury was really a "thief, a bigot, a grafter, a drunk, and, strange as it was, a transvestite."[8]

Shortly after arriving, the new governor asked for a special allowance of two thousand pounds for his personal use. The taxpayers, surprisingly, agreed and a banquet was held to hand over the cash. The lord's speech at that occasion consisted of a soliloquy on the sensual beauty of his wife's ears. The mortified crowd was made to touch the lady's auditory apparatus themselves, by way of proving the point. Then, when Cornbury opened the New York Assembly in 1702, he actually appeared in drag, complete with full, hooped gown, headpiece, fan, etc. To the unbelieving assemblymen, Cornbury defended himself by stating, "You are all very stupid people not to see the propriety of it all. In this place, and on this occasion, I represent a woman, and in all respects I ought to represent her as faithfully as I can."

The habit persisted, with the governor appearing in women's garb more and more often, and finally nearly fulltime. His wife, meanwhile, was losing her wardrobe to her husband in the bargain. He expropriated her clothes, so she appropriated the clothes of the fashionable New York ladies. She would visit, make her selections, and send servants to pick them up the following day.

As a greedy schemer, Lord Cornbury knew few peers. He would invite people to his parties, then charge admission at the door. Enormous land grants were made to his friends in exchange for secret payoffs. One tract of land he dishonestly granted was larger than Connecticut! To build his new house, Cornbury made up a lie about the French preparing to attack the colony. He asked for money to build defenses, and the assembly gave him 1,500 pounds, which he stole.

For five years this unlikely and unscrupulous representative of the crown scandalized and abused the colony. Then his wife died, and Cornbury had the gall to appear at her funeral in drag. The citizens howled for his recall and the Queen could no longer protect him. He was removed from office and thrown into a New York debtor's prison. Fortunately for him, his father, an earl, died, leaving him free to cancel his debts under the strange English law of that time. He returned to England and assumed his peerage.

Lord Cornbury's reign, however, left such a distaste in the mouths of the colonists that when the U.S. Constitution was drafted some decades later, the impeachment provision was said to be inspired in part by his memory.

The Marielitos Boatlift: Cruel Cuban Export

Perhaps the most bizarre episode of America's generally chaotic immigration history occurred in 1980 when 125,000 Cubans left their island *en masse* for the United States — all without visas, passports, or papers of any kind.

It began on April 1, 1980 when six Cubans crashed a bus through the Peruvian Embassy's gates in Havana, seeking asylum. One of the Cuban guards posted outside the embassy was shot. Cuba protested. Nevertheless, Peru granted the six asylum. In retribution, Castro withdrew the guard from the embassy.

Almost immediately 10,000 Cubans, desperate to leave Castro's regime, jammed onto the embassy grounds and an international incident was born. Castro, deeply embarrassed that so much disaffection existed among his people, tried to counter the negative impression by announcing that there was no reason for people to be afraid. Anyone who wanted to leave Cuba could, he said. The port of Mariel would be open to

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anyone wishing to emigrate.

In Florida, the Cuban émigré community lost no time in organizing a large boatlift to bring their erstwhile countrymen to the U.S. At first, many Americans viewed the Mariel boatlift with pride, seeing it as evidence of American virtue and confirmation of the bankruptcy of Castro's model of communism. President Carter initially welcomed them with "open hearts and open arms."

However, as the original 10,000 immigrants swelled to more than 125,000, complacency quickly turned to panic. How could a country, let alone a single state, absorb so many people so rapidly? In the White House, President Carter seemed helpless to influence events, leaving an impression of incompetence which *The Miami Herald* called a "political disaster."[9]

Worse — far, far worse — was the devious trick Castro pulled, using the Mariel boatlift as cover. He literally emptied his prisons of hardened criminals and his hospitals of mental patients, sending them with the Marielitos to disrupt the United States. Furthermore, he encouraged his homosexual population to depart, and between 20,000 and 30,000 of them were among the Marielitos, many bearing disease.[10]

"As the original 10,000 [Cuban] immigrants swelled to more than 125,000, complacency quickly turned to panic."

The INS quickly recognized something was amiss, and detained some few hundred of the Cuban criminals before they cleared customs. Many more, however, got through and went on to launch an epidemic of crime in the Miami area. A movie featuring Al Pacino, "Scarface," was made about a fictional Marielito criminal. The film was so violent it had to be rated "X."

By 1987, federal, state, and local jails were holding a total of 5,638 Mariel prisoners.[11] Many had committed extremely violent crimes. It took nearly a decade to badger Castro into taking a portion of these misfits back.

Partially because of the Mariel disaster, fully 25 percent of all federal prisoners in this country are foreign-born. This does not take into account the burden on the states. The seven leading immigrant-receiving states alone incarcerated about 21,400 *illegal* immigrant prisoners in 1994, at a cost of about $474 million.[12]

Meyer Lansky: Kingpin of American Crime

Although Meyer Lansky immigrated to the U.S. as a boy from his native Poland, he was nonetheless an American-style capitalist through-and-through. In the public eye he tended to be overshadowed by figures from the Italian Mafia, yet Lansky was the brains behind the building of many of this century's most well-known criminal ventures.

The short (five feet, four inches), plain-looking figure as a teenager, partnered with his friend Benjamin (later Bugsy) Siegel in a life of petty crime on Manhattan's Lower East Side, when a financial windfall called Prohibition arrived. During the 1920s, Lansky and Siegel teamed up with Italian mobsters, especially the notorious Lucky Luciano, to smuggle illegal alcohol in from Canada. Prohibition showed the up-and-coming criminals like Lansky that cooperation was better than bloody warfare among organized criminals. And nobody was better at hammering together criminal cabals than Meyer Lansky.

By the time Prohibition was repealed in 1933, Lansky was rich, highly respected in the underworld, and barely 30 years-old! Always considered a statesman of crime, Lansky was fit for the part. Unlike almost all other gangsters, he was a dedicated family man. When not running his illegal slot machines, underground casinos, unlicensed distilleries, and assorted other enterprises, Lansky preferred to stay home with his wife and children. He did not swagger, yell, or throw his weight around.

What distinguishes this man from all other gangsters, besides his more moderate temperament, is his work in turning one resort area after another into centers of casino gambling. Some of this activity was completely illegal, such as installing slot machines in New Orleans. Several other ventures appeared legal on the surface yet were secretly backed and corrupted by him. One way Lansky criminalized his gambling operations was by skimming; that is, hiding much of the revenue from the government to avoid taxes.

Eventually he founded major gambling centers in Hot Springs, Arkansas, the Gold Coast of Florida, Las

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Vegas (this venture spearheaded by Bugsy Siegel), the Bahamas, and the entire island of Cuba. Lansky personally cultivated the Cuban dictator, Fulgencio Batista, and was able, in effect, to write his own law by sharing his ill-gotten gains with the Cuban president.

On June 20, 1947, Lansky and other criminal investors in the Flamingo Casino in Las Vegas had Bugsy Siegel assassinated for allegedly skimming profits to defraud his fellow mob investors. The unlucky criminal was shot in the back of the head as he sat on his living room sofa. Lansky's reputation for non-violence did not prevent him from murdering his best friend from childhood when he felt double-crossed.[13]

In fact, Lansky proved to be something of the "teflon" criminal. Never caught for Siegel's murder, he also survived the Senate's hearings on organized crime in 1950 and 1951, the communist takeover in Cuba (though his casino properties were seized by Castro), and even a federal indictment over profit-skimming at the Flamingo (ill health prevented him from standing trial).

Nothing like Lucky Luciano's fate — a long prison term followed by deportation to Italy — ever befell him. However, toward the end of his life, the FBI began to see him as one of the kingpins of American crime. Agents thereafter dogged his every step, though they still failed to get him behind bars. Lansky became nervous, however, and in his attempt to shake them, he tried to gain Israeli citizenship. The Israelis rejected him.[14]

He left American organized crime more gentlemanly, coordinated, enterprising, and infinitely more enmeshed in the American economy than ever before. He died of natural causes in 1983, having never been prosecuted.

Arthur Rudolph: Nazi V-2 Builder Turned U.S. Rocket Scientist

During World War II, Germany's brilliant rocket scientists left no advantage unexploited in their race to build the crude missiles which killed so many thousands of Britons.

By far the worst thing the German rocket-builders did was to employ slave labor, mostly Jews, in their underground missile factory located in Dora, Germany. Some 60,000 slave workers, half of whom died, labored there from 1943 to 1945. The high rate of mortality should not be surprising in light of the fact that the SS guards forced the workers to complete 14-hour shifts, seven days a week.

Cruelty abounded, as in the case of every operation with SS involvement. Mass public hangings of recalcitrant prisoners were common, with a dozen strung up at a time by means of a construction crane.

One young German scientist witnessing these hangings was the production manager of the V-2 rocket program, Dr. Arthur Rudolph. This dedicated Nazi had been a member of the party since 1931, and he was a captain in the dreaded SS. Not only aware of the treatment given the slave laborers, Rudolph personally helped procure replacements for those who perished.

"Rudolph was included in 'Operation Paperclip' ... despite a security evaluation which called him a '100 percent Nazi, dangerous type, security threat ... suggest internment."

After the war, the American military establishment, in a caper that has generated enormous controversy, quickly enlisted as many of the German rocket experts as it could. In all, more than 1,500 German scientists were signed up to help establish this country's missile program. Rudolph was included in "Operation Paperclip," as the scheme was called, despite a security evaluation which called him a "100 percent Nazi, dangerous type, security threat....Suggest internment."[15]

Instead of internment, Rudolph was brought to America as an all-star immigrant and put to work. Here he thrived. In the 1960s, Rudolph was given an enormous responsibility: he became supervising engineer of NASA's Saturn V rocket program. This rocket launcher would eventually boost American astronauts out of earth's orbit on their way to the moon. In all his scientific work Dr. Rudolph was a great success. In 1969 he retired from NASA with medals and honors, and became a well-paid consultant.

Yet he was also a war criminal, just the type of person Americans had died struggling against in Europe and eventually his past caught up with him. An

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enterprising government prosecutor, Eli Rosenbaum, worked on his own time to piece together the facts concerning Rudolph. The Justice Department acted, drawing up a consent decree in which Rudoph was asked to give up his naturalized citizenship and leave the country voluntarily.

In November, 1983, Rudolph signed the agreement and a few months later left for Germany, a former Nazi no longer sheltered by America's overly-generous immigration policy.

Charles Ponzi: Affable Inventor of "Pyramid" Schemes

Anyone who has followed the philanthropic disaster brought about in 1995 by the New Era Foundation, in which dozens or even hundreds of charitable organizations lost millions of dollars, has been reacquainted with the dread "Ponzi scheme." The originator and master of the concept was an enterprising, if unscrupulous, immigrant from Italy.

Unlike the back alley criminals associated with the Mariel boat lift, Charles Ponzi was the picture of the Italian gentleman when he stepped onto American soil early in the 20th century. Well-dressed, speaking a respectable English, and very ambitious, he immediately set out to make his fortune.

The problem was, his brilliant and original methods were invariably just one step this side of criminal, and occasionally they crossed the line. After passing a bad check and serving a brief jail term, and other assorted failures, Ponzi one day hit upon a simple scheme which would make him and his initial investors rich.

In a sudden burst of crooked inspiration, it occurred to Ponzi that the international system of postal reply coupons could be exploited to good advantage. Somewhat like today's pre-paid long distance calling cards, postal coupons were issued by the postal services of various countries to allow stamps to be paid for in one country and received and used in another. For example, a Spaniard could lay down 30 centavos in Spain for the coupon, which stated, "This coupon may be exchanged at any post-office of any country in the Universal Postal Union for a postage stamp of the value of 25 centimes, or its equivalent."

Ponzi had used these coupons before. But this day, it occurred to him that the math strongly favored the person exchanging the Spanish coupon for a U.S. stamp. That was because the Spanish currency had been devalued, but the American dollar remained strong. Further, the Spanish currency's devaluation had not yet been reflected in the official value of the coupons. In other words, Spaniards could actually buy a 30 centavo postal coupon for only about 23 1/2 centavos, but the coupon would still fetch a five cent stamp in the U.S. — the same as before. The result of the transaction would be a 10 percent profit.

Then Ponzi turned his attention to countries with even weaker currencies. He discovered that using the same scheme with Italian postal coupons yielded an astounding 230 percent profit! In fact, Ponzi had stumbled onto an early, grossly unethical, version of today's modern currency trading. It was cruel, of course, because one or both nations would lose a great deal of money when the funds proved inadequate.

"Using new investors' money to pay off his older investors, Ponzi grew hopelessly overextended.... he went to prison for fraud, adding his name to our language as the label for 'the Ponzi scheme.'"

"My discovery didn't involve much scientific study," Ponzi later reflected. "In fact it did not involve either science or study. It was a good deal simpler than the Einstein theory of relativity. So simple, really, that it took me less than five minutes of figuring on a scratch pad to realize its possibilities."[16]

The "Boston swindler," as he was later to be called, immediately lined up investors to buy great quantities of foreign postal coupons and exchange them for U.S. stamps, to be sold for a tremendous profit. He became wealthy and influential, though greatly resented by the U.S. government.

The problem was it couldn't last. As more and more foolish investors wanted to share in the obviously unsavory scheme, Ponzi had to keep promising ever higher payoffs to keep the money flowing. At the same time, the actual opportunity in exploiting postal reply coupons was narrowing as officialdom caught on to the scheme.

Using new investors' money to pay off his older investors, Ponzi grew hopelessly overextended within

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a year. In 1920 his investment company collapsed and he went to prison for fraud, adding his name to our language as the label for the "Ponzi scheme."[17]

Colin Ferguson: Mad Executioner of the Long Island Railroad

This is the story of an immigrant whose suspicion of white racism literally drove him mad, and influenced him to go on one of the deadliest shooting sprees in New York City history.

A native of Kingston, Jamaica, Colin Ferguson had not done well in America since his immigration in 1982. In fact, in the years preceding his rampage he had lost his wife, his home, his job, and his place as a college student. In his mind, all of these maladies were brought about because he was black, and white Americans were determined to keep him down.

A fellow Jamaican immigrant, Patrick Denis, shared a house with Ferguson during the two years leading up to the shootings. He described Ferguson's wild outbursts against white oppression. Ferguson would hurl insults at Denis when Denis would disagree. The outbursts increased. "It was like he was losing his mind," Denis said. "It was impossible to reason with him."[18]

That's what the administrators of Adelphi University thought when they suspended him in 1991 after a series of shouting matches with teachers and students. Ferguson was a religious fanatic who finally began to pray loudly in his room and shout to himself about "Uncle Tom negroes" who were cooperating in a racist conspiracy to keep people like him down.

There were law suits connected to a workers' compensation claim he had made, and Ferguson decided that system was rigged against blacks, too. He began to badger the staff of Brooklyn's workers' compensation board. When that didn't work, he began calling the state attorney general's office, sometimes several times a day, demanding action on his case. He also wanted to sue the New York transit police for brutality, and Adelphi University for suspending him.

One day, he walked into an outdoorsman store and purchased a Ruger P89 pistol with a 15-round clip. Then, on December 8, 1993, Ferguson boarded the LIRR's 5:33 p.m. commuter train bound for Hicksville, Long Island. During the trip, he stood up and started firing at whites and Asians at random.

Twenty-three persons were shot, five fatally, before the madman could be wrestled to the floor. The nation was horrified. Crazed to the end, Ferguson insisted on defending himself during his trial a year later, which made a sorry spectacle.

Today he sits in prison serving a life sentence.

Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman: The Most Bloody-Minded Immigrant of Them All

If Omar Abdel-Rahman, a blind Islamic cleric from Sudan, had had his way in February 1993, he would have butchered 50,000 New Yorkers in a single day.

The sheik's fanatical followers planted the massive bomb that ignited underneath the World Trade Center in 1993, killing six persons and injuring thousands more. Horrible as that act of terrorism was, it was meant to be much more deadly. The sheik's organization had intended the car bomb, located in a parking garage situated directly underneath one of the two 110-story towers, to buckle the structure of the building, sending all of the approximately 50,000 office workers plunging to their deaths amidst a million tons of concrete, steel and glass. Fortunately, the tower proved tougher than the bombers had expected, and the damage was less than catastrophic.

Abdel-Rahman immigrated to the U.S. with the sole intent of launching a "holy war" against this country. His band of radical Muslims planned a terrorist campaign which included blowing up the Lincoln Tunnel, assassinating Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak (while he visited New York City), and blowing up the World Trade Center, among other uniquely bloody-minded acts. All this was meant as punishment for America's befriending Israel and opposing the radical fringes of fundamentalist Islam.

The most shocking thing about Sheik Abdel-Rahman's story is that he immigrated here with a valid visa, even though the U.S. government had him on a "watch list" of suspected terrorists! Egyptian officials had long believed him involved in the assassination of Anwar Sadat, the Egyptian president who made peace with Israel. In 1987 the State Department declared him a possible terrorist. Yet in 1990 the fanatical cleric obtained a visa and moved to the U.S. A year later he was granted resident status at a time when another governmental agency was seeking to have his original visa revoked.

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After the FBI moved in to arrest the sheik following the bombing, Congress blasted the INS for letting him in the country. "He entered the country through a string of errors and failures that suggest that Abbott and Costello may have been in charge of our visas," stated Rep. Benjamin Gilman (R-NY).[19]

The INS complained about its antiquated computer system, which makes cross-checking for persons on the "watch list" difficult. The State Department admitted human error was involved as well. The question certainly comes to mind: If a fanatical cleric with a history of suspected terrorist activity can enter this country *legally*, what does it take to be turned away?

At this writing, the sheik and his followers have been declared guilty of the bombing conspiracy.

Summary

Of course, most immigrants aren't infamous at all. Most have simply come to America to work and raise a family. No one would argue that a broad brush be used to defame everyone born overseas. However, neither is every immigrant the next Toscanini. Quite a number are criminals and other problem-makers, eager to take advantage of our open society and its generous system of public benefits.

Because America was populated by a full gamut of people — pilgrims, adventurers, felons, paupers, refugees, exiles — and emerged as the world's leading example of economic success, technological skill and democratic polity, we have romanticized "being an immigrant" to a high degree. Those who favor maintaining high numbers of immigrants use this emotion to suppress any discussion of limitation. So it becomes, as we try to illustrate with the drawing on our cover, a matter of balance. Let's stop saying that if there were limits to immigration we would miss some great contributor to the arts or sciences or public well-being, unless we are equally willing to argue that we would avoid dealing with someone who would be a great detriment. ■

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Wayne Lutton is associate editor of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT *and co-author of* The Immigration Invasion. *The title of this article comes from Emma Lazarus' poem, "The New Colossus," written in 1883. For the story of how it was added to the inside of the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty in 1903, see Elizabeth Koed's article "A Symbol Transformed: How 'Liberty Enlightening the World' Became "The Mother of Exiles'" in* THE SOCIAL CONTRACT, *Vol. II, No. 3, Spring 1992, pp. 134-143.*

"Wretched Refuse" From "Teeming Shores"

by Wayne Lutton

Past immigration to America has not been an unmixed blessing. During the 19th and early 20th centuries, mass immigration was promoted by some employers to depress wages and break unions. It helped foster class antagonism, political radicalism and big city corruption. Foreign governments used North America as a convenient dumping ground for their criminal populations, a practice that continues to the present time, as exemplified by the actions of the Cuban, Russian, and Chinese governments, all of whom have gladly sent us thousands of hard-core criminals in recent years.

Throughout our history, the demand for restrictions on immigration was often spurred by popular reaction against the admission of criminals and people who were likely to be heavy users of welfare services. What follows is a brief review of this neglected aspect of our immigration experience.

The Colonial Period

The English government often sent what were characterized as the "idle poor" to its North American colonies. A 1663 Act of Parliament authorized Justices of the Peace to send "rogues, vagrants, and sturdy beggars" to America. English convicts were often given the choice of servitude in colonial plantations as an alternative to execution [an uncounted number opted to be hanged instead]. By 1717 the English government began a policy of penal transportation and thereafter shipped certain classes of felons to the colonies. An estimated 50,000 criminals were forcibly removed to America from the British Isles between 1717 and the outset of our Revolution, with 20,000 of them going to Maryland from 1750 to 1770.

The colonies often protested against the landing of criminals and some indentured servants. As early as 1639, the Pilgrims of Massachusetts demanded the expulsion of foreign paupers and set fines for shipmasters who brought criminals and paupers. Soon Virginia and other colonies followed their lead. In 1676, the General Assembly of Maryland tried to discourage the transport of criminals by requiring all shipmasters to declare whether they had any convicts on board, and attempted to prevent them from landing if they did. Massachusetts, in 1700, passed an immigration act requiring shipmasters to furnish lists of passengers, and prohibited the landing of lame, infirm, or those incapable of earning their own living. Shipmasters were required to return proscribed persons to their home country. Pennsylvania imposed a tax on every criminal landed and tried to make shipowners responsible for the good conduct of their passengers, in a law enacted in 1722.

Lacking independent standing, the colonies could not enforce their demands for selective immigration. Self-protective measures were regularly ignored or over-ruled by the British Crown. Yet, E. E. Proper, in his book *Colonial Immigration Laws* (Columbia University Press, 1900), attributed the political and religious spirit of the colonies, in part, to the restrictions and prohibitions that were enacted prior to the American Revolution. What is also worth noting is that, contrary to the claims expressed by some historians and promoters of "multiculturalism" today, Colonial America did not welcome any and all who tried to come here.

Attempts at Restriction: 1776 to 1860

During and after the Revolution, many states passed legislation affecting immigration. In 1783, for

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instance, Massachusetts took the lead in prohibiting the return of Tory refugees. Congress passed a law in 1790 forbidding the naturalization of refugees from the Revolution without the special consent of those states which had prohibited their return.

Writing to John Adams in 1794, George Washington clearly stated, "My opinion with respect to immigration is, that except of useful mechanics and some particular men and professions, there is no use of encouragement." He repeated this view in a letter to John St. Clair:"I have no intention to invite immigrants, even if there are no restrictive acts against it. I am opposed to it altogether."

Benjamin Franklin was a strong supporter of immigration restrictions and rejected proposals that the federal government offer positive inducements to encourage more immigration. He warned states that some European governments were transporting criminals to our shores.

Likewise, Thomas Jefferson endorsed immigration restrictions. As the leading advocate of states' rights, he was uncompromisingly opposed to federal immigration legislation. Instead, he argued that states had the right to regulate and even prohibit it.

By the onset of the 19th century, the growth of manufacturing created a market for skilled laborers. As many native-born Americans preferred land-ownership to becoming hired workers, businesses recruited foreign labor. This did not discourage a number of states, especially after 1820, from passing laws to restrict the entry of certain types of immigrants.

On February 25, 1820, Massachusetts passed "an act to prevent the introduction of paupers from foreign ports or places." Maryland (in 1833), New York, and other states adopted acts regulating the importation of passengers, with the objective of requiring shipmasters to post bonds against passengers liable to become public charges.

Such laws did little to discourage a number of European governments from paying the fare of convicts and ne'er-do-wells to the United States. In 1836 the Massachusetts legislature passed a resolution calling on Congress to take decisive measures to prevent the entry of foreign paupers and criminals into the United States. Senator John Davis reported that in 1833 a British Royal Commission urged parishes to raise taxes to help paupers emigrate to America by paying their passage.

Britain was not alone in trying to shift the burden of sustaining their poor to this country. By the mid-1830s, this was so widespread that several large American cities, including Boston, New York, Baltimore, and New Orleans, took additional measures to attempt to halt the practice.

In 1837 New York discovered that three-fourths of its municipal almshouse residents were foreign nationals. A report to the mayor concluded that, "In fact, our public charities are principally for the benefit of these foreigners; for of 1,209 persons admitted into the hospital at Bellevue, 982 were aliens."

The U.S. consulate in Leipzig, Germany, issued a report in 1837, which revealed:

> *Not only paupers, but even criminals, are transported from the interior of the country to the seaports in order to be embarked there for the United States. A Mr. DeStein has lately made propositions to the smaller cities of Saxony for transporting their criminals to the port of Bremen, and embarking them there for the United States at $75 per head, which offer has been accepted by several of them.... It has of late, also, become a general practice in the towns and boroughs of Germany, to get rid of their paupers and vicious members, by collecting means for effectuating their passage to the United States....This practice is highly injurious to the United States, and also deters the better and wealthier class of inhabitants of Germany from immigrating to the United States.*

President Martin Van Buren provided Congress with further evidence that it had become common for foreign governments to transport criminals and paupers to America. Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, Consular reports and Congressional hearings by, among others, the Senate Judiciary Committee, gave added proof that this practice continued. Indeed, George Goundie, American Consul at Basle, Switzerland, stated in March of 1846 that it was on the increase.

On September 3, 1855, the State Department advised the mayor of New Orleans that immigration agents in Germany were warning "immigrants who are deformed, crippled, or maimed, etc., against taking passage to New York, and advise them to go by way of Baltimore, New Orleans, or Quebec, where the laws prohibiting the landing of immigrants of the above classes do not apply."

State and federal records disclose that this was not

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a problem to be lightly dismissed:

- In Massachusetts, from 1837 to 1840, aliens comprised over two-thirds of those maintained at public expense.
- In 1850, federal authorities determined that of the 134,972 paupers being supported during the previous year, over one-half (68,538) were foreign born.
- Of the foreign-born population, at least one of every 33 was a pauper, while only one in 300 of the native-born population was a public charge.
- New York City found that during the year 1853 municipal prisons held 6,102 Americans and 22,229 foreigners convicted of such crimes as murder, rape, arson, and robbery.
- For New England as a whole, more than one-half of those convicted circa 1850 were foreign born.

Despite widespread support for immigration restrictions, states and municipalities found themselves unable to cope with immigration-related problems. Regrettably, state laws to discourage the landing of foreign criminals and paupers were easily evaded and so had little effect. Immigration had become a national problem, demanding action at the federal level.

The Post-Civil War Era

After the conclusion of the War Between the States, there is evidence that foreign countries continued to try to resettle their hard-core poor and many convicts in the United States. Switzerland, in 1866, pardoned felons, including some murderers, if they would emigrate to America! As late as the 1880s, a number of German states, preeminently the Kingdom of Bavaria, assisted discharged repeat offenders to move here.

As they had during Colonial days, British authorities were unceasing in their efforts to deport their poor and criminals to America and other "hosts." A banker by the name of Tuke, with support from members of the English nobility, founded the Tuke Emigration Society in 1882. By the next year the Tuke Fund had raised over $1,000,000 — a vast sum in those days — and began the systematic exportation of paupers and convicts from Great Britain. It seems that other Tuke-assisted emigrants first landed in Canada and then crossed over into the United States.

During Congressional hearings before the famous Ford Committee, it was noted that the Imperial Russian government was exiling its political prisoners to Siberia, while trying to ship their thieves and murderers to America. As Rena Michaels Atchison, Ph.D. observed in her study of immigration published in 1894, "We are receiving every year a large percentage of the most dangerous criminals discharged from European prisons. It would seem, indeed, that European powers have conspired to make America the Botany Bay of Europe."

"...the Imperial Russian government was exiling its political prisoners to Siberia, while trying to ship their thieves and murderers to America."

Although Congress passed legislation designed to discourage the admission of foreign criminals and paupers, the problem remained a serious one. In remarks sounding uncomfortably contemporary, the U.S. Immigration Commission in 1911 noted:

> *the present law, from the difficulty in securing proof, is largely ineffectual in preventing the coming of criminals and other moral delinquents.... Criminals or moral defectives of any class, provided they pass the medical inspection, can usually embark at European ports and enter the United States without danger of detection.... The present immigration law is not adequate to prevent the immigration of criminals, nor is it sufficiently effective as regards the deportation of alien criminals who are in this country.*

Even after passage of the comprehensive 1924 Immigration Act, criminal aliens remained a serious presence. New York Supreme Court Justice Norman S. Dike reported in 1930 that as much as a third of the American criminal population was made up of the foreign born. As today, the federal government failed to provide adequate funds to enforce laws requiring the deportation of convicted aliens.

Throughout our history immigration policies have helped make the United States a less safe and secure country than it could have been. It is as true today as it was in 1925 when then-Secretary of Labor James J. Davis observed: "crime in America can definitely be lowered through more stringent selective standards of immigration." ■

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At the Funeral for an Immigrant, Anger and Sorrow

By Jane H. Lii

As the church choir sang softly for her soul to rise safely to heaven, Gao Liqin lay in a simple blue wooden coffin in her finest attire: a white ruffled shirt and a frayed chocolate-colored wool coat.

Clutching a picture of his dead wife and weeping, D. M. Zhang an immigrant from Fujian, China, sobbed uncontrollably yesterday at Chinatown's Ng Fook Funeral Home. In broken sentences and disjointed words, he asked aloud in Chinese: what had unleashed the wrath of fury of his wife's captors that they would kill her in such a brutal way?

On Sept. 2, seven days after Ms. Gao's abduction, her captors, enraged that her family in Fujian had come up with only $5,000 of the $38,800 they had demanded, gang-raped her and cut off her finger, the police said. They then tried to kill her by suffocating her with a plastic bag over her head and smashing her skull with a television set, investigators said. When she would not die, her captors strangled her with a phone cord and set the house on fire, the police said.

Ms. Gao, who was abducted on her way home from a Queens sewing factory by four youths on the evening of August 26, is one of the 11 hostages the kidnappers are holding, the police said. So far, only two victims — a man who had been shot in the neck and a woman who was beaten and gang-raped — are now free, and only one of the suspects, Xu Xing Ying, has been arrested.

The cases are only the latest in the surging wave of crime against Fujianese immigrants, many of whom came to America illegally, paying up to $30,000 for passage. Unable to be absorbed by the insular Chinese community and find jobs, some have turned to crime.

Kidnapping has become the crime of choice because the punishment is significantly less than for drug trafficking. To make it harder for American law enforcement officials to trace the money, kidnappers demand the ransom be paid in China.

Angered by this latest wave of terror, Chinese immigrants met with police officials last week to demand more police attention to the kidnapping problem.

To care for her husband, who had become ill after coming to the United States - Ms. Gao had left behind their children, a girl, 13, and a boy, 6, and embarked on her own journey here last year, paying $37,000 for falsified travel documents. After her arrival, she worked in a Queens garment factory, earning $1,500 a month, said her husband, Mr. Zhang.

"Kidnapping has become the crime of choice because the punishment is significantly less than for drug trafficking."

To save money, the couple rented part of a one-bedroom apartment in Corona and spent virtually no money other than for basic clothes and food, Mr. Zhang said. Each month, they send home $2,000 to pay off the exorbitant smuggling fees.

Before receiving word of his wife's death, Mr. Zhang had anxiously waited by the phone for news from China. He felt a sense of relief when told by his brother-in-law in Fujian that he and relatives had paid $5,000 in ransom for his wife's release.

"I thought the money would spare her life," he said.

Mr. Zhang said he knew something went wrong when the kidnappers did not release his wife after the partial payment. "Instead, they demanded more money," he said. "I knew she was dead." ■

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Sex Slavery, Thailand to New York

Thousands of Indentured Asian Prostitutes May Be in the U.S.

By Carey Goldberg

She was halfheartedly helping out in her parents' grocery store in Bangkok, daydreaming of an office job that would let her wear pretty clothes, when evil entered her life in the form of a man who made her an irresistible offer: He would arrange her passage to the United States and a job, he said, and it wouldn't cost her a cent, because her future employer would pay his commission.

Within days, the 23-year-old Thai woman, who asked that she be identified only by her nickname, Na, was in New York.

In New York, and caught in a nightmare of sexual slavery, an ordeal so hideous that even months later, as she described it in the downtown Manhattan office of the immigration agents who helped save her, her head dropped in shame, and she doodled unconsciously right on the government tabletop.

Almost as soon as Na arrived last September, she was informed of the real, Faustian terms of her passage to New York. To pay off the people who had bought her ticket and arranged her visa, she was expected to have sex with more than 300 men. She would be held captive behind the locked doors of a Chinatown brothel where, she later learned, the bars covered the windows and buzzer-operated gates controlled the doors. She would not be allowed to leave the building until she had worked off her debt.

"I could not respond, but I wept," Na recalled through an interpreter. "I thought: 'I can't do anything. I'm in their hands.' "

The United States is not the usual destination for international traffickers in human flesh, who mostly feed the thriving sex industries in Thailand, the Philippines, Japan and India. But experts say the scale of the operation that used Na — a brothel at 208 Bowery housing more than 30 smuggled Thai women — indicates that thousands of Asians could be engaged in forced prostitution in America.

Illegal brothels like the Bowery's, which the police closed down in November, have surfaced in recent months in Los Angeles, Seattle and San Diego. Rarely, however, have the workings of an American den of forced prostitution been broken open as thoroughly as they have in Na's case. Its details were exposed in the records of one trial completed in June and more trials are now under way.

"This is a classic case," said Kathleen Barry, a professor at Pennsylvania State University, founder of a group called the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women and author of *Prostitution of Sexuality* (1995: New York University Press), which includes a broad study of the international trade in prostitutes.

"Everything that goes on in the sex industry appears in this case," she said: "From the specific exploitation of an individual woman when the customer buys her, to the systematic slavery of selling her and other women through fraudulent schemes, to the disparity between the economic conditions in Thailand and in this country."

At the United Nations Conference on Women in Beijing, Dr. Barry's allies called for a worldwide network to combat prostitution, in part by coming down harder on customers and pimps.

Officials of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service and the New York police say they share the women's concern about forced prostitution. "It's almost in the nature of what we have seen in alien smuggling, because of the high cost for people coming in," said Daniel Molerio, the immigration agency's assistant district director for investigations, who supervised the raid on the Bowery brothel. "You are going to find many cases of people held against their will."

Like recent kidnapping and murder cases attributed to Asian gangs, including the death of a Chinese woman in Brooklyn two weeks ago, forced

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prostitution typically involves Asian organized crime and smuggling rings, said Russ Bergeron, a senior spokesman for the immigration agency. "We have seen major criminal organizations utilizing this type of enterprise," he said.

In a recent case involving an interstate chain of massage parlors staffed by Asian women forced into sex, Mr. Bergeron said: "The network was very sophisticated. These women were provided with false documents, false I.D.'s, and they were even rotated from city to city periodically in order to defeat law enforcement efforts."

Coerced prostitution of foreign women is especially difficult to combat, officials said, because of its usual secrecy and the profit that drives it. And even once detected, it can be hard to prove because the prostitutes often fear revenge and deportation.

"Ms. Adkins started to accept indentured women from Thailand, she said, and her suppliers told her not to let them outside because they might run away."

"You can't force them out of the business," said Lieut. Peter Martin of the New York Police Department's Vice Squad, which helped with the Bowery case. "Unless we have even a mere suspicion that they're held against their wishes, we can't take any action."

In Na's case, the harbingers of freedom were city inspectors who, knowing that the upper stories of 208 Bowery were used as a brothel but finding it hard to keep it closed down, went looking last year for housing code violations that could close it another way.

Checking the premises on Oct. 11, 1994, they encountered 2 women — among 31 present — who made clear in broken English that they wanted to leave. That brought a visit from the police and interest from immigration officials, but the other women followed their bosses' orders to stay put and keep quiet.

On Nov. 8, a prostitute who had managed to escape phoned and told the captives they could appeal for help by calling 911. In the police raid that followed they arrested the madam, Siew Geok Adkins, better known as Lilly Chan or Jenny, along with the bouncer and several others. Six more women turned themselves over to authorities; the rest were let free — two of them only to turn up weeks later in a similar situation in Seattle.

Immigration agents in on the raid said they found rows of cubicles and whole cases of condoms.

Since then, the case has brought together more than a dozen defendants, from brokers in women to their buyers, and slowly unfolded the ugly inner workings of a modern international slave trade.

Joseph Morales, the bouncer who stood guard at the door, has been convicted of kidnapping and civil rights violations, and faces sentencing on Oct. 30. He could receive 10 years in prison.

Many women held at 208 Bowery first claimed they had been lured to the United States with promises of restaurant jobs. Then several changed their stories, admitting they had known they would be working as prostitutes, but had thought they would be free to come and go. Authorities said the still had some doubt about Na's story, but she maintained she would never have willingly become a prostitute.

Ms. Adkins (Lilly Chan), who turned state's witness at Mr. Morales's trial this spring, described the cold-blooded details of overseeing a stable of sexual slaves.

Beginning in 1993, when her regular supply of Korean, Taiwanese and Hong Kong prostitutes began to dry up, Ms. Adkins started to accept indentured women from Thailand, she said, and her suppliers told her not to let them outside because they might run away.

From early 1994 until the brothel was closed down, she obtained about 50 Thai women that way, she testified. After one escaped by jumping out a second-story window, she installed iron bars, she said. Three buzzer-operated gates controlled the doors, and the women were herded into a secret basement during several police raids.

"What does it take for a woman to jump out a second-story window?" Assistant Attorney Tai Park, who helped in the Federal prosecution of Mr. Morales, wondered, openly appalled. "What does it take for an illegal alien who can't speak English to say to some white stranger, 'Can I go out with you?'

"What does it take, if not absolute horror at the restraint you have been confined to day after day?"

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Customers paid a $30 admission fee and $100 for about an hour with a prostitute, Ms. Adkins said. The only money the women kept came from customers' tips. Some of the Thai women were so inexperienced that clients complained. The women generally worked from 11 am to 4 am every day, she said, and had sex on average with two men a night.

Along with marketing women who "belonged" to other bosses, Ms. Adkins said she bought six or seven women outright. They cost $6,000 to $15,000, she said, calling the business very profitable. One woman whom she bought for $9,000 had to pay her back in 270 "quotas" — 270 men for $27,000. Other women had to repay their smugglers by having sex with 380 to 500 men, she said. All were charged $300 a week for room and board payable through sex with three more men.

"The Thai women were all on tourist visas, obtained by forging letters from companies saying they were employees."

The women kept track of how many men they had slept with in little booklets, Ms. Adkins said; she kept a master ledger as well.

But all that counting may have been pointless, Dr. Barry believes. In most cases of forced prostitution, she said, talk of debt is only a ruse, and the captors "have no intention of setting the girls free until they're no longer usable."

"If they get AIDS they'll be set free, or if they grow haggard," Dr. Barry said.

The Thai man who enticed Na to America, Jawarit Sillaphanond, testified as part of his plea bargain that he had put several women in the brothel, lying to some that they would work in restaurants and to others that they would be prostitutes but free ones, able to choose their men and come and go. Once they were under his control, he threatened to hunt them down and hurt them if they escaped, he said. The Thai women were all on tourist visas, obtained by forging letters from companies saying they were employees.

Witnesses said Chinese and Vietnamese gangsters were also involved in the brothel, collecting protection money and hunting down escaped prostitutes.

Happily, Na's tale ends well. After the immigration agency got working papers for her and she found a job at a Thai restaurant, a patron fell in love with her and married her, she said. She plans to stay in America.

But still, when she thinks back on her time in the brothel, the lilting syllables of her Thai speech fill with unaccustomed rage.

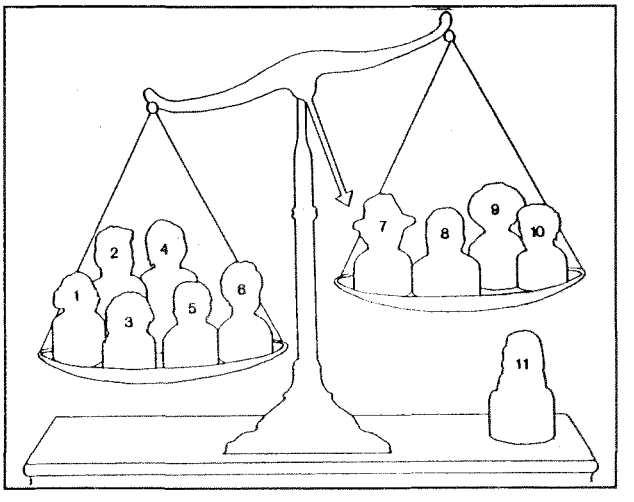
"Every time I talk about it, I'm angry that it happened to me," she said. "They bought me something, and they wanted to use it to the full extent, and they didn't think that these people in there are human beings." ■

Key to the Persons Depicted on the Cover

(1) Madeleine Albright, (2) Mikhail Baryshnikov, (3) Albert Einstein, (4) Yo-Yo Ma, (5) Henry Kissinger, (6) Angela Lansbury, (7) Meyer Lansky, (8)Colin Ferguson, (9) Charles Ponzi, (10) Sirhan Sirhan, and (11) Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman.

Nominations Requested

Perhaps you have someone to suggest to be added to the gallery of "infamous immigrants." Send any clippings or brief manuscripts to THE SOCIAL CONTRACT at 316½ E. Mitchell Street, Suite 4, Petoskey, MI 49770; or FAX via (616) 347-1185.



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Jack Miles is Professor of Humanities and Director of the Humanities Center at the Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, California. Previously he was an editorial writer with the Los Angeles Times. *His path-breaking article on immigration and race and ethnic relations in Los Angeles, "Blacks vs Browns: Immigration and the New American Dilemma," was published in the June 1992 issue of* The Atlantic. *The article below appeared in German as a chapter in the book,* Weil Das Land Sich Ändern Muss (Because the Country Must Change) *coauthored by Marion Dönhoff, Meinhard Miegel, Wilhelm Nölling, Edzard Reuter, Helmut Schmidt, Richard Schröder, Wolfgang Thierse, and Ernst von Weizsäcker. Reprinted by permission.*

Damit die Deutschen nicht Aussterben

("Saving the Germans from Extinction")

Translated from the German by Jack Miles

Prefatory note by Jack Miles: *The United States has no population policy; that is, no agreed-upon targets for the size of its population, the composition of the population by age group, or the relative proportions of native-born and foreign-born. Germany has been no different. Konrad Adenauer said, "People will always have children," and there the matter seemed to rest.*

It turns out, however, that Adenauer was wrong: the Germans are not having children (at least not at rates that replace themselves, in the next generation), and the implications for every area of German economic and social policy are enormous. The German writers listed above — among them a former Social Democratic chancellor and the editor of the influential liberal weekly Die Zeit *— recently published a manifesto whose title could be translated,* Why Germany Must Change. *They place the "taboo topic," as they call it, of population policy in their opening chapter.*

Given continuing violence against foreigners in Germany, it is revealing to see Germans as liberal and responsible as these soberly contemplating the possibility of the progressive "marginalization" of Germans in their own country: Germans restricted to their own schools, neighborhoods, and rural districts. The Skinheads are no experts in demography. Obscurely, however, they may realize that big changes lie ahead. And it is in part for this reason that these eight people chose to write, each on the problem which seems the most important to him. The most responsible segment of German society needs to react in its own way to what most disturbs the least responsible segment.

The particulars of the population policy these writers propose for Germany cannot be transferred to the United States. But what might well be transferred is, first, their awareness that sudden, drastic change — as recently in the former Soviet Union — can never be ruled out, and, second, their illuminating way of seeing birth rate, health care, day care for the children of working women, social security, work force entry and exit, and, not least important, immigration as profoundly interrelated.

The latest predictions of the Federal Bureau of Statistics about the future development of Germany's population are unambiguous. Absent a change in the birth rate and absent immigration, the population will drop by about one million by the end of the 1990s, by 2.8 million in the following decade, by 4.4 million between 2011 and 2020, and by 5.6 million between 2021 and 2030, for a total decline of 14 million. [Editor's Note: The 1995 population of reunited Germany is approximately 84 million.]

Accompanying this decline in the population is a permanent change in the age distribution. By the year 2030, the over-sixty-year-old proportion of the population will grow from the present one-fifth to well over one-third. The over-eighty proportion will grow during the same period from just under 4 percent to just under 7 percent. About every fifteenth inhabitant of Germany will then be over eighty. The proportion of under-twenty-year-olds, by contrast, will drop from the present one-fifth down to about one-sixth. The over-sixty figure will thus be, in 2030, more than twice as high as the under-twenty figure. In 1950, the statistical relationship of the two groups was exactly the reverse.

As to its direction, this trend does not differ from what we see in other industrialized countries. However, the process is further along in Germany. Whereas in nearly all other industrialized countries the growth of the native-born population has only slowed

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sharply or at most come to a standstill, the population figure for Germany is already dropping, so that the trend in population puts Germany about a generation ahead of most other industrialized countries. What this means is, among other things, that Germany will be the first country to gain experience with an absolute shrinkage of the native-born population.

Running counter to the population trend in the industrialized countries and specifically in Germany is the trend in the Third World. There we find most countries in a phase of rapid growth, which, in the opinion of the United Nations, will not subside until the middle of the next century.

By then, the world population will likely have doubled from the present approximately 5.5 billion to easily 11 billion people. During the same period the European proportion of the world population will be halved from about 14 percent to about 7 percent. As for the proportion represented by Germany's population, it would drop from the present 1.5 percent to 0.6 percent.

The German populace[1] has various options:

1. It can prepare for its own overall numerical decline and the growth of the elderly portion of the population.

2. It can compensate for its overall numerical decline through immigration, thereby simultaneously slowing the growth of its elderly portion of the population.

3. It can try to bring its birth rate back up to a replacement level.

4. It can link all three measures together.

5. It can let everything ride.

Detailing the Options

Each of these options has its specific advantages and disadvantages.

Option 1: If the populace wants to prepare for its own numerical decline and the relative growth of its elderly component, it will need to cooperate as closely as possible with its neighbors so as to offset its shrinking economic and political weight in Europe and the world. Further, it must avoid placing future burdens either on business or on society.

Adopting this policy would mean a rapid reduction of public indebtedness, the permanent diminution of current — and the avoidance of future — damage to the environment, and the earliest possible funding of investments and investment ideas that take into account the capacities and requirements of a shrinking and aging population. Finally, the public must raise its savings rate, accelerate the increase in its workplace productivity, and enhance its utilization of private means for the care of the old, the sick, and the needy. Among other things, this would entail a radical revision of the statutory social security system, above all as regards care for the old.

If this strategy is consistently followed, the German populace ought to be able, albeit with substantial economic and social losses, to get through the coming two to three generations. Thereafter, the relationship between the older and younger portions of the population would again be more balanced than in the intervening time. Germany would be as densely populated as its neighbors, France and Poland. Its population size would place it behind Russia, Ukraine, France, England and perhaps also Italy in sixth place in Europe.

"...the populace must formulate and implement an unambiguous immigration policy."

Option 2: If the populace proposes to balance its numerical decline via immigration, it must prepare, all the same, for a slower, to be sure, but ever clearer increase in the proportion of the population made up of the elderly. Accordingly, the populace must formulate and implement an unambiguous immigration policy. Within the framework of this policy it must decide how many immigrants should come to Germany, as well as from what regions and within what period of time. In this connection it should be borne in mind that immigration from highly industrialized countries is all but out of the question, since in the middle term they will have population problems analogous to Germany's. Further, decisions will need to be made over what age- and qualifications-profile the immigrants should have. In view of the free circulation that exists within the European community, this policy must be carefully cleared with the other countries of the community.

If Germany follows this strategy, fully matching the shortfall in its native-born population with

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immigrants, then the portion of the population that consists of immigrants, now about a tenth [Editor's note: the immigrant portion of America's population is 8.7 percent.], will have to triple to about 30 percent. In major urban areas, their portion would climb to about 50 percent; in the countryside it would be correspondingly smaller. A third of these immigrants would have arrived before the start of the 90s, two-thirds would have arrived later. The majority of these future immigrants would come first from Central and Eastern Europe, later from the underdeveloped countries.

Whether a numerically shrinking and sharply aging populace can integrate, much less assimilate (as many as 600,000 people per year) is uncertain. However, if economic, social and (not least) cultural tensions are to remain bearable, the doubtless costly effort at a comprehensive integration of the immigrants would have to be made. Should this effort fail, turmoil in the community would threaten, and along with it the at least partial marginalization of the German portion of the populace in separate schools, neighborhoods or even tracts of land.

"...until about the year 2040, the demands on the members of the work force generation would be quite extraordinary..."

Option 3: These probable, rather than merely possible, consequences of Option 1 could be reduced or even avoided if the public were to raise its birthrate to the replacement level in a timely manner. True, even then the population would drop by about one-third. In about two generations, however, it would stabilize at this level. The high proportion of elderly would gradually melt away, and little by little the population would come into a new balance.

Until this point was reached, however, that is, until about the year 2040, the demands on members of the work force generation would be quite extraordinary, for they would have to care not only for many old people, but also for one-third more children than during the twenty years just past. The social burden on these breadwinners — consisting as it would of children, as well as of the elderly — would increase more sharply than it would if no change occurred other than the already foreseeable increase in the elderly portion of the population.

If this burden is to remain bearable for the upcoming work force generation, measures must be taken, to begin with, comparable to those taken with regard to the overall decline in the population and the relative increase in the number of the elderly. Above all, economic burdens whose impact comes in the future must be avoided or, as it may be, eliminated as much as possible. Moreover, participation in the work force must increase. To this end retirement dates must be gradually pushed back and the employment entry date of young people moved forward. Simultaneously the work force activity of women must be lightened, this most especially since, if more children are born, necessary arrangements will presumably have to be made for them.

Whether and to what extent this third strategy can succeed is again uncertain. Politically generated movements for an increase in the birthrate — and here the evidence is abundant — have always had only a transitory, and at that a modest, impact.

Option 4: Therefore, the optimal policy ought to consist of all three strategies; that is, (1) preparation for an aging and gradually shrinking population by means of (2) moderate immigration and (3) a measurably higher birthrate.

Discussion

All the same, this course of action is not simple either. On the contrary, it requires a radical break with the familiar. To that end the populace must immediately be made familiar with the imminent demographic changes. To date this has not happened. In Germany population policy questions have in fact been taboo. The consequence is a widespread misperception of population trends. As studies have shown, the majority still thinks that Germany's population rests on a solid demographic foundation and regards neither a modification of the birthrate nor immigration as necessary for the long-term stabilization of the size and distribution of the population. The attitude of the majority toward children and foreigners reflects this.

Only when large parts of the populace have recognized the seriousness of their situation can there arise a readiness to stop burdening the future with the solution to the problems of the present. The majority must recognize that tasks which can be done today

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should be done today. For whether the population of Germany shrinks and ages in the future or makes up its losses by immigration, it will be less capable than it is today of bearing political, economic and social burdens. The sentence, "The shoulders of the younger generation are always broader than one's own," which held true for many generations, is true no longer. For the first time in a very long while the shoulders of the younger generation are narrower. For that generation, problems that today are merely hard to solve could prove impossible to solve.

"The previous one-way street — ever less work for an ever higher standard of living — will come to an end not only on ecological, but also on demographic grounds."

Basically, what this means is that economic and social entitlements built on the demographic suppositions of the past are called into question. Their business basis has changed or has already collapsed. Especially hard hit are, for example, all government social entitlements. They stand on the threshold of permanent transformation and even cancellation. However, economic entitlements are also affected. Thus in the wake of the demographic transformation private capacities will increasingly have to fulfill social functions. The individual's lifetime in the work force will again have to lengthen. The previous one-way street — ever less work for an ever higher standard of living — will come to an end not only on ecological, but also on demographic grounds. The birthrate may climb again, but in that case the older generation will only have to do that much more for the younger generation. The grandparental generation, as well as the parental generation, will soon begin noticing this.

Relations With Immigrants

Above all, however, the public will have to rethink and reorder its relations with immigrants. For a long time, the public was not really aware of the immigrants and thought it could get along without them. For that reason it felt them more often as burden than as boon. This, of course, is going to change. Not only will it be harder in the future to achieve given economic and social ends without immigrant help, but sooner or later the public welfare will be imperiled without them. Today's native-born population in Germany therefore will need immigrants in the future no less than the immigrants will need the native-born population.

This certainty of mutual existential dependency must characterize the future relationship of both sides. Only then can it really be fruitful. However, the danger of failure is ever present. All the more urgent, therefore, to prepare the immigrants carefully, to guide them, and to actively shape them. Assuring their success must be a high political priority in the future. However, neither the politicians nor the public have come to grips with these changes. In practice, both follow the fifth strategy and let things evolve as they will. This strategy is by far the riskiest. Its failure is all but unavoidable. Whether the harm that it has already done to the economy and to society is reparable cannot be known.

Policy Proposals

What can be known is that Germany must conceive a clear population policy, and, in addition, build up around it the indispensable political and social consensus. Key elements in this conception are:

1. Unburdening the future.

Politicians and society generally ignore the consequences of present behavior for the more distant future, while in the meantime the more distant future becomes the present. The consequence is an ominous overload. This goes for practically all realms of life, including population trends. The denial of the interests of the future begins to threaten survival itself. Accordingly, and on an emergency basis, the combined political, social and economic order needs to be reviewed and, as necessary, revised with a view to its long-term future capacity. The carrying out of this assignment falls not only to the administration and the opposition alike, but also to political parties on both sides, to science and business, and to all responsible organizations, institutions and individuals.

2. Fostering children.

Until about a generation ago the public could trust that without any special collective effort a number of children, at least sufficient for population replacement, would be born. The relative importance of family policy and the societal value placed on child-rearing

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could then afford to be correspondingly slight. Family policy was for a long time scarcely more than a residual quantity in politics.

But in the interim the principle "people will always have children" (Konrad Adenauer) has ceased to apply, and therewith the most important presupposition of nearly all areas of policy, especially economic and social policy, has undergone a permanent change. The demographic foundation upon which all politics rests has lost its carrying capacity, and this change calls for a thorough-going revision of political priorities.

"...only when the reasonable material and spiritual needs of children in and out of family units have been satisfied should society be allowed to take up any further sociopolitical chores."

More strongly now than before, policy must be formulated and implemented, with attention to demographic consequences. And in that connection family policy must claim a high priority. Within social policy, family policy must become the first link in the chain of all further sociopolitical measures. For without a solid demographic foundation the entire system of social security will be found wanting.

Concretely, only when the reasonable material and spiritual needs of children in and out of family units have been satisfied should society be allowed to take up any further sociopolitical chores. The birth of children ought not to languish in Germany on grounds of material want. The public must recognize that the raising of children is absolutely its most vital assignment.

3. The formulation and implementation of a coherent immigration policy.

Through to the end of the 1990s, the shortfall of the native-born population of Germany can be largely made up by the arrival of ethnic Germans from abroad. Further immigration during this period, at least on demographic grounds, would not be required. On the contrary, such immigration could easily worsen the living conditions of the native-born population as well as its long-term age distribution. If further immigration were to be permitted, and if there are good reasons to permit it, it would be exclusively in the interest of the immigrants themselves.

In about a decade, however, this cost-benefit situation should change. At that point immigrants should begin steadily to improve not only their own living conditions but also those of the native-born population, supposing that they have been promptly integrated. In that connection, there could be, for an indefinite period, some 200,000 immigrants to integrate each year, surmising that the current birth deficit has been halved and that a gradual decline in the size of the population has been accepted. Otherwise, the integration challenge would be even greater.

Such a flow of human beings will require, particularly of a progressively aging and shrinking populace, basic psychosocial and organizational preparation and a sober confrontation with the foreseeable consequences. To this end, far-reaching political decisions must be taken as soon as possible, among them decisions as to whether immigrants should be screened for admission and, if so, according to what criteria. These decisions doubtless bring political controversy in their train. But the controversies must be faced now if the populace is not to be subjected later to shattering trials. ■

[1] The authors of "Saving the Germans from Extinction" (*Damit die Deutschen nicht Aussterben)* pointedly use the word *Bevölkerung* here rather than the word *Volk*. Citizenship, under German law, has traditionally been determined not by place of birth but by descent. The phrase *Das deutsche Volk*, "the German people," thus has an ethnic rather than merely political or civic connotation: many long-term residents are not and cannot expect to become German citizens. The authors nonetheless wish to present their policy options to everyone legally residing in the country. When *Bevölkerung* refers in this way to a moral collective, we translate "populace," otherwise, "population." "The public," where used, translates the German *das Publikum*.

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The Problem of Defining Borders in Western Democracies

By Katharine Betts[1]

What are National Borders?

This question is another way of asking: "what is a state?". In Weber's definition it is "an organization which successfully upholds a claim to binding rule-making over a territory, by virtue of commanding a monopoly of the legitimate use of force."[2] A working definition of a nation state (the particular kind of state that has developed over the last couple of hundred years) could run like this: a nation state is a state comprising both a group of people and a territory. The people have some sense of belonging to each other and are governed by a unified political system which defends the territorial borders and decides who is and who is not a member of the national political community. The sense of belonging may be based on real or imagined ethnic links or on shared political ideals.

Because a modern nation is both a set of people and a territory, we have two kinds of national borders: the territorial borders defining the physical domain of a state, and the social or political borders defining its members. But, while the nation state is both a territorial organization and a membership organization,[3] territory and membership do not always coincide completely. At any one time some people who are members may be outside the territorial borders (indeed some may be born outside them) while others who are not members may be inside the territorial borders, as temporary migrants, tourists, permanent (but unnaturalized) migrants, or as illegals.

Some writers claim that the nation state is a thing of the past. European nations developed out of feudal empires and scattered peasant societies in response to the demands of industry and the need for communication between different groups and regions, as well as the political will of nation-builders determined to create a common culture and a common sense of identity which submerged parochial feelings.[4] Later on, nations developed in other areas in response to colonialism. But the argument is now put that these days are gone. The time when nations shaped the economic, cultural and political institutions which structure the lives of their members is past. Today we have global capitalism shaping our economic circumstances while culture is pulled between a homogenized Hollywood product at one pole and scraps of ethnic groups at the other. Squeezed between the two forces of transnational capital and parochial fragmentation, the nation has lost most of its economic and cultural functions.[5] In this "post-national"[6] or "postmodern"[7] view the nation state is now no more than a hollow shell.[8]

There is force in the argument that the economic and cultural powers of nation states are now more limited than they were. But their political role is still crucial and their economic functions have not all been shed. This is why the two sets of borders are important.

The basic political institution for providing internal and external security is the state. It also manages access to scarce resources. The state claims jurisdiction over the natural and built environment within its territory, provides or fails to provide for public safety and the rule of law, and mediates the production and distribution of wealth. Potent though they be, transnational corporations do not subsidize schools and hospitals, nor do they pay old-age pensions. The nation state is our most powerful political institution: it is the only effective means through which we can work to protect the local environment from human folly and to preserve a social structure that supports the rights of citizens.

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Political institutions do still matter. For example, some authors who are keen to pronounce the nation state obsolete also argue strongly that Australia should protect people's rights. Racism and sexism must be eliminated. The needs of groups that have suffered discrimination and marginalization must be met. The principle of cultural self-determination must be upheld. Labor-market segmentation must be overcome. Above all, "the history of white racism and genocide against the Aborigines must become a central theme of education and public debate."[9] What institution is to protect these rights and implement these policies? The answer is unclear. They simply tell us that strategies "must be based on an attempt to redefine the basis of social organization, and to move away from a political emphasis on the nation-state."[10]

"When we brush the postmodernists' obscurantist camouflage aside and look at the stage again, the nation state is still necessary..."

Naive utopians of the "wouldn't it be nice" school of thought[11] may imagine that if there were no more nations there would be no more force. They are dangerously unhelpful, but at least they give lip-service to humane ideals. Some of the postmodern anti-nationalists do not. They delight in proclaiming the death of the author,[12] and of the subject,[13] and of truth[14] and of meaning. They have rediscovered Nietzsche and de Sade, and substituted the "limit experience" for humanism.[15] For them the Enlightenment has retired from the stage,[16] drawing nations and their jurisdictions with it.

But, as postmodernists amuse themselves in their playful fashion with nihilistic enthusiasms, there is a danger that some nations will implode. As states lose their monopoly over the legitimate use of force, a "free market" in violence gathers pace. In the face of demographic and other pressures, anarchy may be gaining a broader sway. (Kaplan documents this threat in "The Coming Anarchy".[17]) Utopian and postmodern anti-nationalists are not playing a "knowledge game"[18] that has much relevance to the victims of the breakdown of central authority in Afghanistan, Angola, Haiti, Iraq, Mozambique, Burma, Sudan, Zaire, Rwanda, Burundi, Georgia, Liberia, and Tajikistan.[19]

When we brush the postmodernists' obscurantist camouflage aside and look at the stage again, the nation state is still necessary[20] and, where it survives in a reasonably civilized form, it is grappling with real problems. These are modern problems which, as the utopians' appeals for rights and justice demonstrate, come straight from the Enlightenment.

Territorial jurisdictions cover all of the surface of the Earth which can be inhabited. The world is now filled up with states that are relatively strong.[21] The modern state claims to rule throughout its territory, and movement across its borders engages its vital interests.[22] Brubacker points out that the state could be tempted to make its task of government easier by expelling unwanted people — the malcontents, the poor and the sick — beyond its borders. But it cannot do this easily because the world is now filled up with territorial states, each butting up to the next with no buffer areas of "nonstate, semistate, pseudostate" zones.[23] As the expulsion of the ethnic Chinese from Vietnam in the late 1970s and the Mariel boatlift in 1980 show, this fact has not always deterred states from expulsions. Nevertheless, states that wish to live with their neighbors in an orderly way and that want to trade and to facilitate legitimate travel cannot behave in this fashion.[24]

Official expulsions and dumping of unwanted people disrupt international relations but, as we also know, much independent movement of individuals and families occurs, irrespective of whether it is encouraged by countries of origin or not. Conditions between nations are unequal. Some states have more resources at their disposal than others, and some are more stressed by poverty, population growth and internal political conflict. The division is most marked between the Western developed nations and the under-developed nations of the Third World. Today many inhabitants of poor nations see a personal solution to their problems in migration to the West, to Europe, North America, or Australia. This is especially true for the better-off members of developing countries, the people who have the means to travel. The question of who should belong to which territory and to which polity is acquiring a new sharpness that it lacked in 1900 when there were still fewer than two billion people on Earth. As numbers grow towards ten, eleven, or twelve billion by the end of the next century this question will become even more acute.

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Citizenship as a Principle of Membership

Nations are defined by their political and territorial borders. Quite apart from the risk of civil unrest, these definitions are facing new challenges, challenges which stem not from disorder and disregard for the law but from the very same sources as the law itself. It is these challenges rather than the anarchy which Kaplan describes which concern this paper.

While this paper is focussed on the political borders that establish membership, the questions of political and territorial borders are, as we will see, closely linked. In Western democracies the community of members within the social borders are known as citizens. There are other kinds of members of other kinds of states. Peasants, serfs and vassals are members of feudal kingdoms while dictatorships and empires contain subjects, slaves and indentured servants. But democracies have citizens. Citizens are members who have certain rights and who participate in the government of the polity to which they belong. This means that when we are talking about the political borders defining membership of Western democracies, we are talking about citizenship.

Despite this, most of the scholarly writing about citizenship concentrates on citizenship as a status embodying universalistic rights (civil, political and social) rather than as a status signifying membership of a polity.[25] Authors consider the claims that members may make and neglect the parallel question of who may claim to be a member. While such a focus limits this work, the work is nonetheless useful. From it we can see that, as citizenship develops, rights and duties are set down in written rules and procedures. These rules and procedures are held to apply to all citizens regardless of their personal attributes or connections. Citizens should not be denied a fair trial because of their race, or be barred from voting because of their sex, or be given a position to which they were not entitled because they were a friend of a government official. Once citizenship is fully developed, the rule of law is meant to replace the politics of privilege and patronage.

The abstract noun *universalism* describes the rights that flow to individuals from the impartial rule of laws and written procedures, while giving or withholding favors on the basis of an applicants' personal qualities, be it their ethnic background, gender or family connections, is *particularism*. The development of citizenship is a process by which particularistic principles are gradually replaced by universalistic ones for an ever-widening proportion of the national population.[26] At the turn of the century the circle was growing to encompass first all adult men and then all adult women, and now we are talking of children's rights. Some philosophers try to extend the idea of universal rights to animals and areas of wilderness.

At the level of rhetoric, universalism is showing a universalizing trend. This tendency is such that many statements about rights (including international declarations issued by the United Nations and statements made by church groups) try to offer rights to people who are not members of democracies and to people who are stateless.[27] The universalizing language of citizenship is now being applied beyond national borders. Thus it has been argued that Australia's "humanitarian values and international stances on human rights demand" that we welcome boat people fleeing poverty and homelessness, irrespective of their refugee status,[28] or that "in Catholic social teaching ... there is no warrant for a doctrine of absolute rights to borders ... Australians belong to one human family or 'global village,' and as such have mutual obligations to promote participation and development rights of all people around the world, irrespective of national boundaries,"[29] or that there is a "right to asylum, the right to settle in a new country."[30]

"Universalist rights only exist because a community of citizens observes mutual obligations."

To live in a safe world where every human being, indeed every living creature, got a fair chance would indeed be paradise. But rights cannot subsist on good intentions alone. Universalistic rights only exist because a community of citizens observes mutual obligations. Some of these obligations do not necessarily feel onerous. To protect civil rights, members of a community must refrain from taking the law into their own hands. To protect political rights they should avoid terrorizing voters or stacking ballot boxes. But, if social rights are to be protected, citizens must pay the taxes which support the community and

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avoid making fraudulent claims on the common pool of resources. They must do this if public goods are to be funded and welfare benefits paid to people who meet established criteria of need.

Social rights to the human dignity provided by a decent standard of living are expensive. But civil and political rights can be costly too. Most of us may, at this moment, have little desire to terrorize our neighbors but we must still pay for the law enforcement that controls the few who are moved in this way. And, the more we economize on social rights, the more we may have to pay to protect civil and political rights. (As we have seen, in some areas the will to protect civil and political rights has fractured and the price to secure them cannot be paid. In such circumstances random violence and systematic murder become commonplace.)

The Dilemma of the Liberal Democracies

Democracies, polities made up of citizens, are based on a network of rights and obligations which apply in a non-discriminatory way to all members. They do not work in a particularistic fashion. But here we have the dilemma. Like other states, democracies consist of a bounded community of members. And these boundaries, or borders, depend on accidents of birth, and on whether outsiders can persuade immigration and naturalization authorities to allow them to become insiders. Biological chance or migration politics determine who is recruited into the national citizenship club: universalism on the inside is regulated by particularism on the outside. (Indeed in Australia's case this often seems a good old-fashioned particularism where money and nepotism are actually written into the immigration rules.) There has been no universalistic right to immigrate. Governments decide who may or may not come in.[31]

The American scholar, Peter Schuck, is one of the few to have analyzed the contradiction between the principles governing the claims that citizens can make and the principles governing who may claim to be a citizen. He writes that prior to the 1980s the courts in the United States had been content to accept the decisions of Congress and the bureaucracy over immigration decisions. The Constitution stopped "at the water's edge" or, as one Supreme Court judgement put it, "Whatever the procedure authorized by Congress is, it is due process as far as an alien denied entry is concerned."[32] This uncovers the heart of the liberal democracies' dilemma. When it comes to boundary maintenance they do not, and cannot, practice what they preach.

Without boundaries and control over new members the people who nominally constitute a polity will feel less commitment to each other. People who feel that the network of rights and obligations that they have established is being turned into a commons will withdraw from the implicit contract that they had formerly made with fellow members. They may even demand more rights, in order to obtain a maximum share of a diminishing set of public goods, while observing fewer duties and obligations. For example, Gary Freeman argues that welfare policies in Europe are becoming "Americanized" in the face of immigration. Social rights depend on boundary maintenance because they involve the redistribution of resources to members. A continuing inflow of new members erodes support for social policies, and politics take an ugly turn in which welfare is seen as something paid for by "us" for "them".[33]

Democracies pride themselves on the universalistic rights which they offer to their members but they cannot practice what they preach when it comes to maintaining their membership and territorial borders. It is this that Robert Birrell has called the dilemma of the liberal democracies.[34]

"A continuing inflow of new members erodes support for social policies, and politics takes an ugly turn..."

Universalism is a social product. Biology may help program us to care for our near kin, but complex social arrangements are required if we are to set up institutions which enable us to care for fellow members of our community, people who are personally unknown to us. The modern nation state is such a set of institutions and it and they depend on borders.

When we talk of rights it is easy for us to think only of ethics and the moral principles that we want these rights to promote. We may forget that the rights depend, not on abstract notions alone, but on the willingness of a set of individuals to meet obligations

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to the group to which they belong. If the group ceases to exist because its boundaries have dissolved, the obligations will not be met and the rights will dissolve too. We will be fortunate if such a dissolution stops with a middle class tax revolt and the affluent few growing accustomed to beggars in the street. It is easy to forget that the decent standards of the welfare state, its internal universalism, depend on external particularism.

"Can a just and compassionate community survive without the administrative authority to select from potential immigrants?"

Citizenship is based on universalistic principles while exclusion cannot find a logical basis within these universalistic principles. Exclusion is particularistic. The potential for conflict between internal universalism and external particularism has grown in the West over the last two hundred years as universalistic principles expanded within national communities. But this potential conflict has only recently become obvious. When the new applicant for membership was beyond the water's edge it was easy to ignore the contradiction between the two sets of standards. But nowadays many applicants have landed and the contradiction has been brought home to us on shore with a rush.

On-shore Migration: Particularism and Universalism Meet

Western democracies, including Australia, are experiencing pressure from foreigners, most already on-shore, who use local legal procedures to argue their case to stay on. This pressure has developed because universalistic rights embodied in the concept of citizenship have been extended, often by default, to allow foreigners to use domestic legal procedures to put their case to immigrate.

We can see this development in Australia. In the late 1970s and early 1980s changes in administrative law were introduced to help protect the rights of Australian citizens, and permanent residents, who had been unjustly treated by government departments. But, before long, the new procedures were being used by foreign visitors who had been refused permanent visas but who wanted to stay on. The fact that they were already on Australian soil gave them access to the courts, and the new administrative law meant that this access was of use to them. During the 1980s increasing numbers of disappointed applicants appealed to the law and found that they were likely to receive a judgement that was in their favor and against the Department of Immigration.[35] Once outsiders can cross the territorial border they can gain access to the courts (or other review tribunals) and are in a position to attempt to cross the membership border.

This is the form that the dilemma of the liberal democracies has taken for us. Can a just and compassionate community survive without the administrative authority to select from potential immigrants, excluding some (or all) according to its own interests? But can a community remain just and compassionate if it practices exclusion with no right of appeal?

Governments traditionally deny that there is any "right to immigrate" and assert that the control of entry is a matter of national sovereignty: for example the first of the nine immigration principles that the Minister, Michael MacKellar, announced in parliament in June 1978 was this:

> *It is fundamental to national sovereignty that the Australian Government alone should determine who will be admitted to Australia. No person other than an Australian citizen, or a constituent member of the Australian community, has a basic right to enter Australia.*[36]

But circumstances have changed. We are now in a second wave of post-war migration and official denials of a "right to immigrate" may have less substance now.

There have been two waves of post-war migration to the more-developed countries, one from just after the war to 1974, the other from 1974 to the present. The first wave was dominated by pull factors and often involved movement from poorer Western nations (in Eastern and Southern Europe) to more affluent ones. In 1974 the oil shock and world recession led many migrant receiving nations to reassess their policies. For most of them, 1974 marked the end of immigration dominated by a need for workers, or for people to augment the demographic make-up of a country. But migration did not stop; rather a second

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wave developed which is more often driven by supply than by demand.[37] The new immigrants often come from new source countries. As Moslems and Africans move into Western Europe, Latin Americans into the United States, and Asians into Australia, the second wave of immigrants are more visible than the first. They are also likely to be (or be perceived to be) more distant in cultural terms from the receiving countries than the people who came before.

Immigration driven by push factors is, of its nature, harder to control than immigration based on pull factors originating within the host country. But the shift in emphasis from pull to push is compounded by changes in other factors. These may be called "intervening variables," variables affecting the facility with which people can move.[38] They include personal networks. Most people have always preferred to move to areas where there were friends and relatives to ease the adjustment. But personal networks are now being augmented by the communications revolution (telephones, television, movies and radio) and by the revolution in transportation.

"...rational argument cannot change the circumstances in which internal universalism depends on external particularism."

The communications revolution also means that people's knowledge about the West has grown and, with the transport revolution, the relative cost of travel has dropped enormously while its convenience has increased. At the same time, Western societies are eager to encourage tourists and overseas students. All of these factors combine to convert the winding pathways of personal networks into broad highways.[39] But, while many features of the second wave seem new, ideas about rights present the most striking difference between the migration of the 1950s and that of the 1990s. The rights revolution can provide an additional lane to this highway. This revolution is not simply a question of increased sensitivity to individual rights. It does not just flow from our troubled consciences and their insistent demands, but from the fact that the demands are being made on shore and that the default position is that would-be migrants have a right to make these demands.

During the second wave, growing numbers of people anxious to join, or at least reside in, Western countries found their way to places where they wished to live and then applied for "on-shore" migration. If they were unsuccessful many appealed to the law. Most democracies have allowed foreigners to do this; to close the courts to foreigners seems harsh and arbitrary to citizens long accustomed to the protection afforded by their own civil rights. How could a people accustomed to justice use unjust methods to protect their borders?

To prevent this we have to change the default position and openly acknowledge that we run two sets of standards. As it is, on-shore applicants can appeal against decisions to exclude them, extend their time of residence, and possibly remain indefinitely,[40] as indeed the current wave of Chinese students and other asylum-seekers have done.[41] True, the problem is less pressing at this moment in Australia than it is in the United States and Western Europe but, as our recent experience shows, the potential is there for it to grow.

Conclusion

Schuck argues that citizenship's first purpose is to provide a way of answering the question of who is a member of a particular community and who is not. It provides a way of defining membership for nations which need an answer to the question of "who belongs?" which is based not on "divine revelation or settled tradition or...some immanent, organic social principle" but on rational argument.[42]

But rational argument cannot change the circumstances in which internal universalism depends on external particularism. This is an irresolvable problem. We are of course confronted by many such problems. Before the long economic boom of the post-war years political ideology sensitized us to the existence of irresolvable problems. Affluence seemed to render such problems obsolete. The tougher political ideologies of the past were abandoned and, for most educated people, were replaced by a rather incoherent set of ideas that we can call *liberal cosmopolitanism*.. Treat others decently and they will repay your kindness. There are plenty of resources for all. And, if difficulties seem to persist, we probably have a communication problem.[43] These ideas provide an unhelpful guide to effective policies for settling disputes within national borders and they are a hopelessly inadequate basis for immigration policy.

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In fact the problem of on-shore migration is being tackled in different countries and in different ways. The liberal democracies are trying to find workable policies to protect their membership borders. These policies include more stringent efforts to protect their territorial borders from bogus "temporary" movement as well as attempts to deny foreigners some of the civil rights accorded to citizens when foreigners attempt to use these rights to sue for residence.[44]

Pragmatic responses to difficult circumstances are being developed. But a naive belief that rights can be drawn on as some indefinite moral resource irrespective of a common commitment to honor obligations makes the task difficult. Walzer tells us that: "To tear down the walls of the state is not...to create a world without walls, but rather to create a thousand petty fortresses".[45] Such an outcome would not advance the interests of those who had formally lived within the territorial borders of the more secure and affluent nation states. Nor would it help the less privileged. ■

NOTES

[1] I would like to acknowledge the help that Robert Birrell has provided through his contribution to an earlier draft of this paper.

[2] Quoted in M. Mann (Ed.), *MacMillan Student Encyclopedia of Sociology.*, MacMillan, London, 1983, p. 373.

[3] R. Brubacker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* , Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1992, p. 62.

[4] See D. Schnapper, "Ethnies et nations", *Cahiers de recherche sociologique*, vol. 20, no. 1993, pp. 164-5.

[5] Thus for writers like Castles et al. contemporary nationalism is now empty of content. S. Castles, M. Kalantzis, B. Cope and M. Morrissey, *Mistaken Identity*, Pluto Press, Sydney, 1990, pp. 139-141.

[6] Castles et al., op. cit., p. 106.

[7] See "Australia as a postmodern archetype", in A. Milner, *Contemporary Cultural Theory: An Introduction*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1991, pp. 116-117.

[8] Castles et al. applaud these developments: "...assimilating nationalism is not only a repugnant alternative for its arrogant and insensitive obliteration of real differences in history and experience; it is also an almost impossible alternative given the dual process of world structural-cultural unification and the growing significance of sub-cultural identification and forms of politics". p. 137 "Human identity must become transnational". p. 13.

For an author who describes the phenomena in a more critical light see J. Kurth, "The post-modern state", *The National Interest*, vol. 28, no. Summer, 1992, pp. 26-35.

[9] Castles et al., op. cit., p. 147.

[10] Castles et al., op cit, p. 148.

[11] Wilton and Bosworth think "it would be nice" if a "rich and relatively safe Australia" could proudly declare that the nation was "little more than a mere geographic expression". See J. Wilton and R. Bosworth, *Old Worlds and New Australia: The Post-War Migrant Experience*, Penguin, Melbourne, 1984, p. 188.

[12] Roland Barthes, quoted in T. Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1983, p. 138.

[13] See E. Graham, J. Doherty and M. Malek, "Introduction: the context and language of postmodernism", in J. Doherty, E. Graham and M. Malek (Ed.), *Postmodernism and the Social Sciences*, Macmillan, London, 1992, p. 15: M. Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, Tavistock, London, 1970, p. 387; and A. B. Seligman, "Towards a reinterpretation of modernity", in B. S. Turner (Ed.), *Theories of Modernity and Postmodernity*, Sage, London, 1990, p. 119.

[14] See J.-F. Lyotard, "The postmodern condition: a report on knowledge", in J. Farganis (Ed.), *Readings in Social Theory: The Classic Tradition to Post-Modernism*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1993, p. 379.

[15] For an outline of Foucault's anti-humanism and his preoccupation with sado-masochism and death see J. Miller, *The Passion of Michel Foucault*, Flamingo (Harper Collins), London, 1994.

[16] See D. Ashley, "Habermas and 'the project of modernity'", in B. S. Turner (Ed.), *Theories of Modernity and Postmodernity*, Sage, London, 1990, pp. 89-90.

[17] See R. Kaplan, "The coming anarchy", *Atlantic Monthly*, 1994. See also Dan Stein, address to the National War College at Fort McNair in the United States, August 24, 1994. Stein is the executive director of the Federation for American Immigration Reform.

[18] This is Lyotard's term (derived from Wittgenstein's concept of language games) for empirical investigation. As the most prominent postmodernist epistemologist Lyotard appears to see all forms of inquiry as language games. He denies that empirically tested ideas have any particular claim to be preferred to others; attempts to argue against this position are denounced as terrorism. See Lyotard op. cit., pp. 377, 380, 375, 383, 384. However, his meaning is hard to discern. In company with other postmodernists, he considers obscurity a virtue. "The real political task today,

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at least in so far as it is also concerned with the cultural ... *is to carry forward the resistance* that writing offers to established thought, to what has already been done, to what everyone thinks, to what is well known, to what is widely recognized, *to what is 'readable'*, to everything which can change its form and make itself acceptable to opinion in general ... The name most often given to this is 'postmodernism' " (emphasis added). Lyotard quoted in B. Smart, "Modernity, postmodernity and the present", in B. S. Turner (Ed.), *Theories of Modernity and Postmodernity*, Sage, London, 1990, p. 24.19.

[19] Stein reports that the United Nations names 17 nations as "potential Somalias" facing collapse; 13, those named in the text, are already in crisis. The other four are Mexico, Egypt, Nigeria and Algeria. Stein, op. cit., p. 8.

[20] "Citizenship and nationhood are intensely contested issues in European politics, east and west. They are likely to remain so for the foreseeable future. Those who herald the emerging postnational age are too hasty in condemning the nation-state to the dustbin of history." Brubacker, op. cit., p. 189. See also P. Brimelow, "Does the Nation-State exist?", *The Social Contract*, vol. 3, no. 4, 1993, pp. 229-234.

[21] Brubacker, op. cit., p. 26.

[22] Brubacker, op. cit., p.24.

[23] Brubacker, op. cit., p. 26.

[24] See Brubacker, op. cit., p. 26. Skeldon's analysis of the Vietnamese exodus to Hong Kong confirms this. With the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Soviet aid to Vietnam ceased. The government then had a strong incentive to integrate its economy with the West, especially the economies of its fast-growing Asian neighbors. While the exodus of discontented people had previously been in the regime's interests the new circumstances of the 1990s were different. "This thinking, although not articulated as explicitly, was surely behind the 'breakthrough' in the agreement of October 1991 between Vietnam, Hong Kong, and the British government, which accepted that all non-refugees should be returned to Vietnam." R. Skeldon, "Hong Kong's response to the Indochinese influx, 1975-93", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 534, no. 1994, pp. 91-105, p. 102.

[25] Marshall's pioneering work set the tone for this. See T. H. Marshall, *Class, Citizenship and Social Development: Essays by T. H. Marshall*, Greenwood Press, Connecticut, 1964. See also J. M. Barbalet, *Citizenship*, Open University Press, Milton Keynes, 1988 and B. S. Turner, *Citizenship and Capitalism: the Debate over Reformism*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1986. Brubaker is an exception here but he concentrates on citizenship as membership and does not examine the tensions between citizenship as membership and citizenship as a status embodying rights.

[26] Turner argues that the growth of universalistic rights spreads out in ever increasing waves to include women, children, embryos, animals, and nature herself See B. Turner, *Citizenship and Capitalism*, op. cit., pp. 91-2, 99-100, 127-30, 135-7.

[27] *A Review of Australia's Efforts to Promote and Protect Human Rights* (Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade), AGPS, Canberra, 1992, lists 18 UN conventions concerning human rights that Australia has ratified, as a whole or in part. See pp. 15-16.

[28] See M. Einfeld, "Detention, Justice and Compassion" in M. Crock (Ed.) *Protection or Punishment*, The Federation Press, Annandale, 1993, pp. 45-46.

[29] Australian Catholic Social Justice Council, *I am a Stranger. Will you Welcome Me?* Collins Dove, Melbourne, 1991, p. 42.

[30] See Pope John Paul II, quoted in Evidence, Joint Standing Committee on Migration, Inquiry into Detention Practices, 1993, p. 781.

[31] It can be argued, especially after the Migration Amendment Act of 1989, that this is not now the case. Selection policy is codified in rules and, in principle, arbitrary decision making no longer exists. But, while the rules are now written and, for the most part, written into regulations, they are not universalistic in the way that term is normally used. Selection criteria give people advantages for age, family connections and wealth in a way that we would not tolerate in other areas of policy. Many people who might otherwise satisfy these particularistic criteria are not accepted if targets have already been filled and the criteria are often changed.

[32] P. H. Schuck, "Immigration law and the problem of community", in N. Glazer (Ed.), *Clamor at the Gates: The New American Immigration*, Institute for Contemporary Studies Press, San Francisco, 1985, p. 293 and note 16.

[33] G. Freeman, "Migration and the political economy of the welfare state", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 485, no. May, 1986, pp. 51-63.

[34] See R. Birrell, "Problems of immigration control in liberal democracies: the Australian experience", in G. Freeman and J. Jupp (Ed.), *Nations of Immigrants: Australia, the United States, and International Migration*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1992.

[35] See R. Birrell (1992), "Problems of immigration control in liberal democracies: the Australian experience" in G.

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Freeman and J. Jupp (Eds) *Nations of Immigrants,* Oxford University Press, Melbourne. The Department has changed its name on a number of occasions. For simplicity's sake the name "Department of Immigration" will be used here.

[36] Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates: House of Representatives, 7 June 1978, p. 3154.

[37] For Europe see S. Castles, *Here for Good: Western Europe's New Ethnic Minorities,* Pluto Press, London, 1984, p. 3. For Australia see K. Betts, *Ideology and Immigration: Australia 1976 to 1987,* Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1988, pp. 2-3, 120-121. Though 1965 is a more pivotal year there than 1974, for the USA see L. Bouvier, *Peaceful Invasions: Immigration and Changing America,* Center for Immigration Studies, Washington, pp. 18-19. For Canada see F. Hawkins, *Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared,* McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989, pp. 63-75.

[38] See P. Martin "The United States: benign neglect towards immigration", paper presented to the conference "Migration Policies - a Comparative Perspective", European Forum for Migration Studies, Bamberg, Germany, 25 to 28 November, 1993.

[39] See P. Martin, "Migration and trade: challenges for the 1990s", unpublished ms, University of California at Davis, February 1994.

[40] See Martin, 1994, op. cit.

[41] See R. J. Birrell, "Implications of the November 1993 and January 1994 amnesties: how many will be affected and at what cost?", *People and Place,* vol. 2, no. 1, 1994, pp. 34-41.

[42] Schuck, op. cit., p. 286.

[43] John Higley and his co-authors claim that the serious political ideas of liberalism and socialism were replaced by a rather meagre set of notions which "essentially teach that mere 'fair' treatment of individuals and groups is a major social panacea ...[and that] most persons and groups .... are inclined towards considerable altruism in bargaining with others". J. Higley, D. Deacon and D. Smart, *Elites in Australia,* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1979, p. 174. See also G. L. Field and J. Higley, *Elitism,* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1980, p. 52; J. Higley, G. L. Field and K. Grøholt, *Elite Structure and Ideology: A Theory with Applications to Norway,* Universitetsforlaget, Oslo and Columbia University Press, New York, 1976, pp. 280, 281-2, 358. They call these ideas "welfare statism". I find their analysis persuasive but prefer the term "liberal cosmopolitanism". K. Betts, *Ideology and Immigration: Australia 1976 to 1987,* Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1988, pp. 45-51.

[44] See G. Freeman, "Can liberal states control unwanted migration?", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* vol. 534, no. 1994, pp. 17-30.

[45] M. Walzer, "The distribution of membership", in P. Brown and H. Shue (Ed.), *Boundaries: National Autonomy and Its Limits,* Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa, N. J., 1983, p. 9.

Solution to Poverty: Move to the West

Recently I was working in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania doing my "good works" in that developing but poor country. I was listening to the radio while working in my room when this announcement from Rome was read in the news: "The Pope has advised that the answer to poverty in the world is for all the poor people to move to the Western developed nations." Radio Dar repeated the announcement several times.

— Charles R. Ausherman, Executive Director
Institute for Development Training
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

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At Writer's Workshop XIX in Washington, D.C. on October 19, 1995 David Simcox gave this response to the preceding paper by Katharine Betts on "The Problem of Defining Borders in Western Democracies." Mr. Simcox is a former foreign service officer and was the first executive director of the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) which he still serves as a senior fellow. He leads a think tank, Migration Demographics, headquartered in Louisville, Kentucky.

Universalist Intentions, Particularist Outcomes

By David Simcox

I am at one with Dr. Betts in affirming, against the liberal cosmopolitans, the pious multiculturalists and self-hating westerners, that the nation-state is viable and that it is an irreplaceable stabilizing force in a fractious world. The multicultural babel that is taking root in the U.S. is not a sign of the irrelevance of the nation-state, but rather is the ultimate test of its unifying powers.

Nation-States as Guarantors of Rights and Opportunities

As Dr. Betts suggests, it is the success of the American nation-state in guaranteeing safety, human rights and economic opportunity and in fostering maximum individual and group self-expression that makes membership in it the driving goal of scores of millions of migrants. What else would provide such assurances in the absence of the mature nation-state?

"As immigration persists and grows, we can expect the numerical and contributory power of the non-citizen bloc to continue to grow accordingly."

But it is this near universal desire for affiliation with the American nation-state, and the willingness of many within the United States to encourage it, that threatens to empty U.S. citizenship of its last vestiges of civic privilege and obligation. Nationhood affirms what the nation's people are and, no less importantly, what they are not. A high-immigration culture, favoring a directionless cosmopolitanism over emulation and assimilation, is embarrassed by the affirmation of "we are not," and works to erase it from national discourse.

The nation-state for many is then reduced to a babel of interests, a teeming marketplace of political and social projects and cultures housed on a geographical commons — without community, without identity, without owners, and without a destiny.

Participation without Membership

The American polity is the world's most open. Participation in it has been increasingly severed from citizenship. Proof of citizenship is not required to petition elected representatives, or to give them inducements. Non-citizens need no license to agitate, mobilize letter-writing campaigns, form organizations to influence legislation, testify in Congress, present their views through major media, or hire high-powered lobbying firms. Major tax-exempt organizations now exist solely to articulate the demands or warnings of the non-citizen population to an undiscriminating Congress and an accommodating bureaucracy.

There is no evidence that organizations of non-citizens who appeal to Congress for generous immigration laws are heeded any less than citizens petitioning for the opposite. Their money speaks no less loudly. As immigration persists and grows, we can expect the numerical and contributory power of the non-citizen bloc to continue to grow accordingly. Growing along with it will be the foreign-born's "street smarts" about manipulating the legislative process. The immigrants' growing resources of access, money and legislative know-how were critical in Congress's hasty passage of the 1990 law that boosted

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legal immigration nearly 40 percent and created new "humanitarian" admission categories.

The individual act of voting, a right nominally reserved to the citizen, is less efficacious in policy making than is lobbying. Indeed, the American states only relatively recently limited the suffrage to citizens; now the nation's 50 political subdivisions make no real effort to ensure that only citizens enter the voter rolls or serve on juries. Our liberal universalism makes it likely we will soon see new arrangements for non-citizen voting at the local and state levels, and ultimately in federal elections.

Current debate on proposed modest cuts in immigration highlights how major nation-averse institutions — corporations, major foundations, universities, and the churches — can advance their particularistic institutional interests by pushing to enshrine universalist practices in immigration policy.

Universalist Intentions and Particularist Outcomes

No nation has shown more enthusiasm or less prudence than the United States in aiding non-members to overcome particularistic exclusionary barriers. Consider a few examples:

- The federally funded Legal Services Corporation, and similar state and local service agencies, have aided immigrants in litigation against immigration restraints;
- Lawyers successfully representing immigrants in immigration cases receive taxpayer reimbursement under the Equal Access to Justice Act;
- In the 1986 immigration reforms, non-White and Hispanic immigrants were granted affirmative action preferences not available to non-Hispanic white citizens, however disadvantaged;
- State and local governments have dropped most of their former alienage prohibitions on public employment, making it possible for them to hire a good share of the foreign recipients of U.S. advanced degrees, while keeping professional salaries low.
- Even illegal aliens are guaranteed free public education and, until recently in California, concessional resident tuition rates in state universities;
- State and local jurisdictions boast a variety of laws and regulations to protect the anonymity of the illegal alien in his transactions with the state, including the receipt of public benefits and tax obligations;
- Major foundations grant tax-exempt largesse to non-profit ethnic organizations for programs of lobbying and litigating to trammel real enforcement of the immigration laws.
- Under pressure, the executive branch has come dangerously close to establishing an appeals process within the United States for aliens denied visas by consuls abroad.

Thus, in the United States we have seen the drive to apply universal principles in the case of the non-citizen become in itself particularistic in outcome. This has come about in an environment that blends the profound commitment of most Americans to a vague vision of fairness with the hard institutional interests of the nation's professional service providers.

Different Standards for Members and Non-Members

For decades the spirit of our immigration policy has resembled that of Victorian architecture: "too much is not enough." Ultimately the excesses have triggered high costs and public exasperation. California's Proposition 187 was a symptom of the anti-community effect of runaway universalism cited by Dr. Betts.

In U.S. society's growing awareness of limits and in the corresponding rise of concern about mass immigration, the option sketched by Dr. Betts of openly returning to different sets of standards for non-member and member, for alien and citizen, has regained appeal. A remarkable range of tough proposals, unutterable under the liberal cosmopolitanism of the 103rd Congress, have at least been considered in the 104th. Just a few of them are:

- the creation on U.S. soil of extraterritorial zones for adjudication of asylum claims;
- restrictions on immigrant petitioners' rights of appeal or access to the federal courts in asylum and some deportation proceedings;
- requiring aliens to leave the country for the duration of their appeals;

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- expedited exclusion of asylum applicants entering illegally;
- placing conditions on the up-to-now automatic concession of citizenship to children born in the U.S. to illegal alien parents;
- and, the end of family preferences for non-immediate relatives.

The resistance to such new approaches in our political culture remains formidable, and not likely to weaken soon. It springs only in part from the power of the immigration lobby. Sentiment and symbolism remain strong in the American soul. Spokesmen of the rapidly growing foreign-born population play upon them expertly.

The refugee ship *St. Louis* now rivals the Statue of Liberty as a great, emotion-soaked talisman of American immigration. The experience of the *St. Louis*, a case of particularistic immigration decision-making, has nourished the expansive refugee and asylum policies of the 1970s and 1980s and haunts current debate over more rational and selective norms. The prevailing conviction among makers of refugee policy has been that the risk of harm to a single asylum seeker outweighs the risk of admitting many who are not bona fide.

Membership in the Polity of the U.S. by Osmosis?

Dr. Betts' distinction of political and territorial membership led me to the troubling question: does the world any longer accept the proposition that political membership in the United States is conferred only by birth therein or by U.S. government fiat? Is political membership now subtly transmitted to millions abroad simply by American acculturation? Is U.S. citizenship propagated by osmosis?

With the intrusive U.S. political and cultural presence beyond its borders, millions abroad now believe they acquire membership in the U.S. polity through their intense acculturation to the U.S. political and economic hegemony. Immigration, then, is a unilateral act of allegiance: it is the individual's assertion of territorial membership, logically following one's unilateral assimilation into political membership. In effect, the U.S. nation-state has become the metropole to millions, an omnipresent sovereignty in their cultures, economies and politics. For the United States, this is a major drawback to becoming one of the world's few superstates.

Assimilation of membership is most common in the small, weak states of the Caribbean and Pacific. Many of those fragile societies define their feeble national identities in terms of their relationship to the United States. (Haiti, the Philippines, the Bahamas, Panama, Western Samoa). Many lack the scope, size or resources to perform as true nations, even under enlightened rule and economic prosperity.

"...millions abroad now believe they acquire membership in the U.S. polity through their intense acculturation to the U.S. political and economic hegemony."

In those societies, the sense of national destiny and national commitment are largely irrelevant. Education and economic performance are tailored to the needs of ultimate life in the metropole. The societies of middle class Filipinos or Jamaicans are prep schools for them and their offspring to take up territorial membership in the United States to match the cultural and political membership instilled since childhood.

A common characteristic of such immigration-dependent states is a former or current colonial relationship or military subordination by the United States (Cuba, the Philippines, the Dominican Republic, Haiti), or a long-standing and intimate client status (Jamaica, Taiwan, El Salvador, Mexico's border communities, Liberia).

The self-induction into membership of those abroad is nurtured by the reality that their destinies are determined in great part by U.S. political processes and U.S. financial institutions. Their world view is shaped by U.S. media. When they watch Congress in session on C-Span, as many do, they observe in action an institution that is legislating for their own lives — often more so than their own legislative bodies.

Breaking the Link between Political and Territorial Membership

These small societies offer a largely empty citizenship to their members. The social compact is

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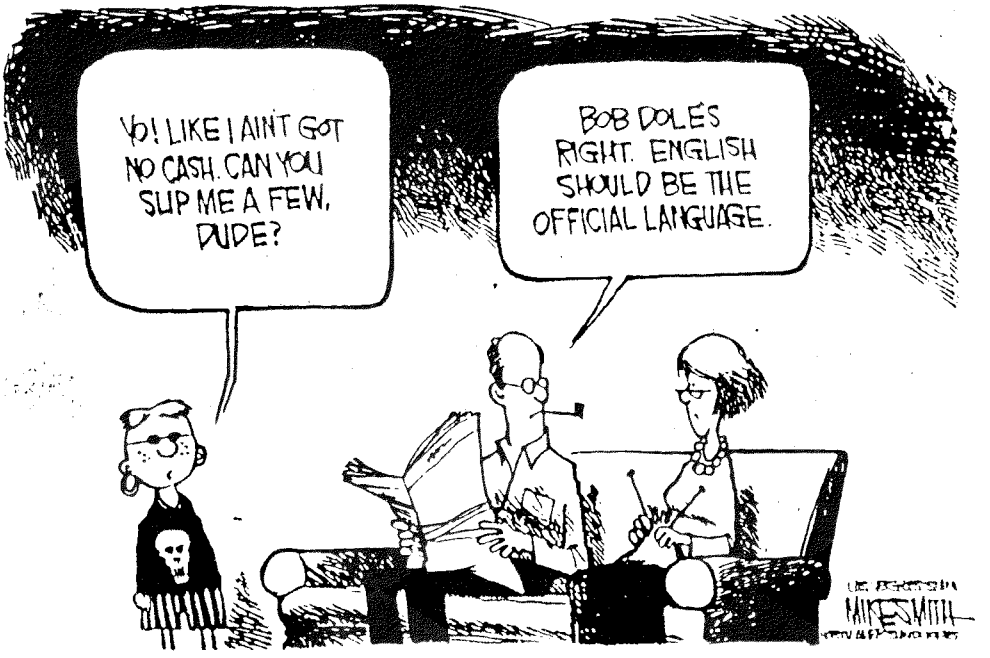
weak, participation is discouraged, and the benefits to be allocated through participation are small and hardly worth the effort. Their governments generally have neither the means nor will to provide the protection, economic opportunity or the array of rights associated with citizenship in the industrial West.

The vacuum of citizenship further conditions their people to assimilate membership in the U.S. polity. In turn, the nearly universal expectation of migration further weakens the sense of identity, purpose and commitment within those nations.

In effect, many coming from those states could be termed "refugees from geographical oppression" — and perhaps we may see that claim asserted in political asylum proceedings some day. They may be well-fed, mildly prosperous by local standards, educated, not persecuted by the government, and have careers or professions. Nevertheless, for them, life in their small and provincial quasi-nations is oppressive. Those societies offer neither the scope, size nor potential to provide the expansive civic or cultural lives and stimulating career options that have become a broad entitlement within the United States.

Are boredom, unfulfillable career aspirations, and absence of stimulating civic involvement forms of persecution justifying flight to the United States? A surprising number of Americans think so and are even flattered by the millions of unsought affiliations. The ultimate national flattery is the notion that the only truly valid lives are those lived in the United States. The United States would do well to examine the British experience as a world metropole. Britain's long decades of universalist rhetoric and gestures promoting Empire and Commonwealth citizenship opened the door to mass immigration after World War II from her populous former colonies and client states. The U.K. solution has been to break the link between territorial and political membership. By creating and then rationing "the right of abode," Britain has limited the immigration of millions of British passport holders whose cultural and social ties to the U.K. are remote.

In the United States, limiting rights of abode could temper what is now a come-one/come-all *jus soli* basis for mere residence. The right of abode limitation could be applied in cases of children born in the United States to sojourning aliens who have no formal ties to this nation, while leaving unchallenged existing judicial interpretations of birthright citizenship. ■



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Multicultural America, Multicultural World

A Commentary on Benjamin Schwarz's "The Diversity Myth"

By Lawrence Auster

One of the guiding, if inchoate, myths of contemporary America has been the belief that everyone in the world is basically "just like us." Animated by the crazy notion that all five billion people on planet Earth are somehow *potential* Americans, we have embarked on two complementary paths of turning them into *actual* Americans: We import the rest of the world here as immigrants, and we export "Americanism" to the rest of the world.

Throughout most of the twentieth century this Americanist idea has taken the form of a Messianic faith in democracy. In the name of democracy, Woodrow Wilson at the end of the First World War broke up the ancient Austro-Hungarian empire, creating a poisonous instability in Central Europe that in turn gave rise to Hitlerism and World War II. In the 1990s, President Clinton has sought with a similar lack of realism to bring "democracy" to such countries as Somalia and Haiti.

Of course, the democratist illusion is not limited to Democrats. In the rhetoric of House Speaker Newt Gingrich the Messianic impulse is expressed in fervid tones:

> *America is a hegemony in the classic sense. We need serious thought about how do we lead the planet.... Unless we are prepared to say, "We will lead the human race," the only alternative will be very dark and bloody.*

This American-led world order, the Speaker adds in his modest way, must be dedicated to nothing less than "*freedom and opportunity for all humans.*" [Italics added.] In other words, it is America's mission to reshape every nation on earth so as to make it conform to the global democratic capitalist system. From Wilson to Clinton to the "conservative" Gingrich, the drive to impose our economic and political beliefs on societies we do not understand (and our inability to learn the lessons of repeated disaster) has remained a keynote of American policy.

Yet as Benjamin Schwarz writes in a remarkable cover article in the May 1995 *Atlantic Monthly*, the Americanist myth in recent years has taken on a new and more perverse twist. It is not just American-style political democracy we are seeking to export today, but *multicultural* democracy. In our emerging multicultural society, U.S. policy makers have come to believe that "diversity" is the fundamental historical fact about America, and therefore *the desired condition of all other societies as well.* These policy makers' favored solution to ethnic and separatist conflict in foreign countries is an American-style pluralism for which those countries are wholly unsuited. For example, the U.S. recognized and supported the state of Bosnia because Bosnia, with its Muslim majority and Serb and Croat minorities, was "multicultural" — yet this, of course, was the very reason the embattled Serb minority refused to accept its existence. America's multicultural solutions have been rejected not just by frightened minorities but by victorious majorities, who do not like being told they must give their defeated enemies a voice in government and culture.

We always get it wrong, says Schwarz, because we are not concerned with the actual needs and problems of these conflict-ridden societies, but with what their troubles say about us:

> *America's anxiety over the fragmentation of foreign states and societies arises from our sense that American society is fragmenting, culturally and ethnically. We are desperate to repair what the foreign-policy community terms "failed states" and "divided societies," for such success would prove to us that the liberal*

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notions of pluralism and tolerance upon which we would like to believe that American unity was founded remain vital enough to build communities abroad and, perhaps more important, at home.

In other words, when we promote pluralistic solutions in other countries, *our real motive is to bolster our self-image as a successful multicultural society.*[1] The destructive illusion we keep trying to impose on others is the same illusion we have imposed on ourselves. For example, believing ourselves to be historically multicultural, we think the answer to our increasing ethnic fragmentation is more "inclusion," when in fact it has been an excess of cultural and ethnic "inclusion" that has caused the fragmentation in the first place.

"Throughout its history, America did not celebrate ethnic diversity, but repressed it. This ... was the secret of American success and stability."

Schwartz sets out to shatter the multicultural myth. The American nation, he says, was not formed by a multicultural blending of diverse and equal cultures, but by the imposition of the majority "Anglo" culture on immigrants and minorities. In the words of a Swedish minister who visited the Delaware River Valley in 1745:

I found in this country scarcely one genuine Swede left, the most of them are either in part or in whole on one side or the other descended from English or Dutch parents.... The English are evidently swallowing up the people and the Swedish language is so corrupted that if I did not know the English, it would be impossible to understand the language of my dear Sweden.

Here was the true meaning of the Melting Pot — not a mixing of diverse cultures into a "multiculture" having nothing in common except a belief in democracy, but the assimilation of diverse cultures into the dominant, Anglo-based ethnicity that defined a distinctive American identity. Various traits and traditions of the immigrant and minority groups survived in the mix and added new flavors to the whole, but not as distinct or autonomous "cultures." Meanwhile, groups perceived as unassimilable, such as American Indians, blacks and Chinese, were physically pushed aside, denied full citizenship, or excluded outright. Throughout its history, America did not celebrate ethnic diverity, but repressed it. This, Schwarz declares with astonishing directness, was the secret of American success and stability.

But today, armed with the fiction that the American nation was formed by "respecting minorities," we misunderstand not only our own historical experience, but that of other countries as well. We condemn Russia for its imperialist history, while we ignore the long process of conquest and subjection of native peoples that was required to create the United States. Schwarz discusses these uncomfortable facts with the cold realism of an ancient Roman:

These [Indian] wars, one of the longest series of ethnic conflicts in modern history, were resolved not by power sharing but by obliteration. Although this record engenders much handwringing today, it is impossible to imagine the United States existing if a more reasonable course had been pursued. For from the "American" point of view, a reasonable accommodation would have required that, in Theodore Roosevelt's blunt phrase, the vast continent be set aside "as a game preserve." America's great ethnic struggle should have taught Americans that many conflicts are simply irreconcilable.

The other great conquest that was the price of nationhood was the Civil War. The conflict over slavery was not settled by "power-sharing" or "respect for diversity" — it was settled by the brutal subjugation of the non-conforming part of the country.

Then there is the problem of blacks. As Schwarz points out, Crévecoeur's answer to his famous question "What then is the American, this new man?" was not exactly universalistic. "He is either an European, or the descendant of an European," Crévecoeur declared.[2] Blacks, while a part of American life and contributing to it in many ways, were effectively excluded from the national identity and culture, and from any significant voice in the body politic, until the mid 20th century. Our current attempt to make one nation of black and

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white, Schwarz asserts, "is an enterprise that might never succeed."

Certainly our greatest historical figures, including Jefferson and Lincoln, would have agreed with him. Jefferson felt that the Anglo cultural imposition that had worked in the case of non-English immigrants, and that might even work in the case of the Indians, could never work in the case of blacks. In his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, he proposed the liberation of the slaves followed by their removal "beyond the reach of mixture." Jefferson's uncompromising views on this subject, which have been carefully erased from our mainstream history, should be more widely known. "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate," he wrote, "than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live under the same government." At the Jefferson Memorial, in a bit of Orwellian redaction, the words following the semicolon in the above sentence have been deleted, the semicolon changed to a period.

"America keeps urging pluralistic power-sharing on embattled majorities all over the world..."

The tragic — and, to contemporary Americans, unbearable — insight underlying Jefferson's precept is that mutually incompatible peoples or cultures cannot live together as equals. Thrown together within the same borders, they are doomed to lasting conflict in which each group, in order to gain autonomy over its own existence, will feel compelled to dominate the other group or else to separate from it. Political arrangements aimed at evading these realities (such as Bosnia) will founder.

Everywhere minorities chafe under majority rule in which the minority is seen only as an appendage to the main body of the nation. Examples of such dissatisfied minorities are the Francophone minority in Canada, the Arab minority in Israel, and now the growing nonwhite minorities in Western Europe. As we've already seen, the American approach to this problem is to get the majority to share cultural and political power with the minority. But of course no sane and healthy majority will accept such a scheme since it would endanger its own position. Schwarz comments:

> *Such blandishments amount, whatever the motivation, to crass interference in another state's internal affairs. How would Americans feel if Japan, out of a sincere desire to stabilize a dangerously divided United States, tried to pressure it to adopt the radical power-sharing solutions of Lani Guinier ... to effect a political order in which minorities were assured a more powerful voice in the U.S. political process?*

Nevertheless, America keeps urging pluralistic power-sharing on embattled majorities all over the world, because the only alternative would be to acknowledge a reality that multicultural America is unwilling to face: that "[s]tability within divided societies is normally based on some form of domination, and once internal differences become violent, usually only the logic of force can lay them to rest." The awful truth is that "the most stable and lasting solution to ethnic and nationalist conflicts has been ethnic cleansing and partition" (Bosnia, however horrible, is again a case in point). Schwarz concludes that the U.S. has only two rational options when dealing with ethnically divided countries: either let the conflict take its own course, or intervene (as the Great Powers routinely used to do) on behalf of the side most capable of restoring order.

Solution to the American Dilemma

While Schwarz's prescriptions for foreign policy are clear, he leaves unstated the profound implications of his analysis as it relates to America's own ethnic conflicts. If the surrender of cultural hegemony by America's national majority has been the cause of America's ethnic fragmentation, then the only cure may be the re-imposition of such hegemony. In an article published two months before Schwarz's piece appeared in the *Atlantic*, Samuel Francis spelled out that idea with stunning and disturbing frankness:

> *The answer is, quite simply, the reconquest of the United States. This reconquest does not involve any restoration of white supremacy in the political and legal sense that obtained under slavery or segregation, and there is no reason why nonwhites who reside in the United States could not enjoy equality of legal rights. But a white reconquest of the United States would mean the supremacy of whites in a cultural sense, or in the sense of what is nowadays*

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called "Eurocentrism."[3]

To put it another way, America's nation-forming majority — defined, in Sir James Goldsmith's words, by a shared "common culture, sense of identity, heritage and traditional roots"[4] — must begin to express itself *as* the majority. Minorities would continue to have rights as citizens, but would be prevented from pursuing their own numerical and cultural aggrandisement at the expense of the majority culture.

While the above ideas are clearly "ethnocentric" in the sense of recognizing the ethnic dimensions of nationhood, they should not be seen as rigidly exclusivist. On the contrary, a majority culture can remain open and attractive to minorities only to the extent that its own dominance is unquestioned. This is something that used to be instinctively understood by most people. Rabbi Mayer Schiller fondly recalls how during his boyhood in Brooklyn in the 1950s, "My Country, 'Tis of Thee" was sung every day by the children in school. When he sang the words

Land where my fathers died
Land of the pilgrims' pride

it never occurred to him that the men who had died in the War of Independence and the Civil War were not his own fathers.

How different is the experience of Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala, who once told a reporter: "My grandparents were from Lebanon. I don't identify with the Pilgrims in a personal sense."

Now it is no great problem for a country if a small, powerless minority feels the way Miss Shalala does. But if, as a result of cultural breakdown or large-scale immigration, a large segment of the population comes to share that kind of alienation, then the nation's majority culture loses its legitimacy, and the nation itself begins to expire. That is exactly what has been happening to America since the 1960s. Yet our dominant elites, committed to the multiculturalist or universalist program, see the impending death of our nationhood as a wonderful thing, and they seek, through the export of the Americanist ideology, to kill or suppress other nations as well.

I disagree with Benjamin Schwarz on only one point, but it is a crucial one. Schwarz seems to suggest that America's sanguinary record proves that power alone has been the basis of a successful and unified nation — that "might makes right." But this is a crude reductionism. The American nation, despite being founded (as all nations are) on force and cultural dominance, has also been infused in its national life with ethical and spiritual principles. Assimilation of minorities has not been simply a matter of cultural imposition by the majority, but of a positive attraction to the good. To deny these historical facts, to believe that power (or race or class or any other purely material factor) is the *only* reality, is to embrace a Macchiavellian view of the world that is as false to the American experience as it is to the better angels of our nature. ■

NOTES

[1] As an example of the narcissistic self-regard that drives American policy, *The New Republic* says that America has a moral obligation to help Bosnia win back its lost territory, since America is "the country that exemplifies for the world the essential connection between multiethnicity and decency." Apparently a society can't be decent unless it is mutliethnic like ours, and it is our duty to make other countries "decent."

[2] Crévecoeur, Michel Guillaume Jean de, *Letters From an American Farmer*.

[3] Samuel Francis, "Prospects for Racial and Cultural Survival," *American Renaissance*, March 1995.

[4] Goldsmith, Sir James, *The Trap*, New YorK: Carroll & Graf, 1994.

Democracy and Language

"Democracy cannot function in a federal superstate where the multiplicity of languages makes democratic debate and democratic accountability mere slogans."

— Margaret Thatcher in *The Path to Power*

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John Tanton is the editor and publisher of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT *and was, in 1979, the founding chairman of FAIR, the Federation for American Immigration Reform.*

Speaker Gingrich on Immigration

By John H. Tanton

My experiences and interest in the field of immigration reform led me to look over Newt Gingrich's book, *To Renew America*.[1] My hope was to learn something of his plans for us as a nation. The clear writing style was most helpful. In this article I would like to offer some comments on Chapter 14 of the book titled "Illegal Immigration in a Nation of Immigrants."

Concentrating on illegal immigration, the speaker says that this issue "should be a simple slam-dunk for any serious citizen." He gives ten principles that he calls "obvious and historically irrefutable" — (1) anything illegal is by definition wrong, (2) any nation has an absolute obligation to protect its sovereign border, ("if you can't block people from coming across your border, you really can't protect your citizens"), and (3) our border is clearly known and must be guarded effectively by the federal government whose job it is to do so.

Few will object to Mr. Gingrich's first-mentioned principle as a philosophical jumping off place. Point two is a needed restatement of Article IV, Section 4 of the U.S. Constitution: "The United States shall ... protect each (state) against invasion...."

Points two and three, however, belie a misunderstanding that most resident illegal aliens entered our country illegally. Exactly the opposite is true. As Maria Puente reports, "... more than half the estimated 4 million illegal immigrants are 'visa overstays' — people who enter the country legally on a tourist, student or business visa but don't go home...."[2] So while ending illegal immigration involves much increased protection of our borders, that is only partially the answer.

Our border is much more than just our land border with Mexico and Canada. It is also our coastal border where ships from foreign shores continue to discharge illegal immigrants, and our airports where people simply land and walk into the U.S. after flying over the border from a foreign country. Recent examples include the grounding of *The Golden Venture* at Queens, New York in June 1993, and the "Sixty Minutes" program on "asylum" claims by people flying into JFK and other international airports.

To echo the patriots of 1775, it's one if by land, two if by sea, and three if by air.

In the case of entries by air, our border effectively begins at the airports overseas from which planes embark for the United States. Our shoreline in reality begins overseas as well. An example can be seen in Florida where cruise ships leave U.S. ports to convey daytrippers to Caribbean islands. There is little or no scrutiny of who re-boards the boat for the return trip to the United States — nor much of an effort to check the passengers' legal resident status once they return.[3]

How Shall We Deal with Illegal Aliens Once Here?

The speaker goes on to state in his principle (4) that "when people have succeeded in illegally entering the United States there should be a quick and efficient method of deporting them." He correctly points out the "legal circus" that goes on for months or years during which illegals disappear into the general population.

I certainly agree with Mr. Gingrich that deportation should be speedy, but again the problem is larger than those who are "illegally entering the United States." We need a system for keeping track of those who enter legally, so that should they overstay their welcome and become illegal they can be found and deported, as Israel is now preparing to do.[4] As Representative Gingrich observes in the concluding paragraph of his chapter on immigration: we can learn from the experience of others. And what about those already here? Are they home free, or should they be deported? Another amnesty for lawbreakers is not acceptable.

In taking up the speaker's point (5) concerning the costs of caring for illegal immigrants, the notion is advanced that since border control is a federal problem, any costs incurred by state and local governments in taking care of illegal immigrants

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should be reimbursed by the federal government.

We can agree that these costs are a federal problem. But placing the various states in a financial bind over illegal immigration has usefully focused public attention on this problem. We should oppose any move to have the federal government paper over the fiscal consequences of immigration — illegal or legal — by reimbursing the states. The federal budget will never be balanced unless we deal with the causes rather than the effects.

"We should oppose any move to have the federal government paper over the fiscal consequences of immigration — legal or illegal — by reimbursing the states."

Stating that it may eventually be necessary to require everyone to carry employee identification cards, the speaker in his point (6) deplores the easy access to false ID which makes a mockery of our laws. And we reluctantly agree that controlling illegal immigration may well lead to everyone needing some form of counterfeit-resistant employment identification card. While this is not a pleasant prospect, it is less unpleasant than is that of uncontrolled admissions. Foreign visitors now need to carry identification in the form of their passports, as we must when we go abroad.

Of course, the complexity of our civilization is pushing us in the direction of requiring positive identification for such things as voting and securing many social benefits including Social Security or Medicaid, food stamps or Medicare. There is also a general need for identification to cash checks, apply for a loan, and, as of October 1995, boarding a commercial airplane — a practice ordered by the FFA as an anti-terrorism measure.

Incidentally, the INS unwisely stopped issuing its Citizen Identification Card some years ago. This was a card that could be obtained voluntarily by any citizen who felt the need for positive identification. That practice should be reinstituted, with the applicant paying a fee sufficient to defray the costs involved.

Suggested Changes In the Immigration System

Mr. Gingrich goes on to suggest, unwisely we think, that some of the illegal immigrant pressure can be eliminated with a "guest-worker" program:

> *Seventh, we should develop a guest-worker program to allow foreigners to work temporarily in the United States. This may be the safety valve that allows Mexico and its neighbors to accept a tough, decisive United States policy against illegal aliens. The right kind of guest-worker program, modeled on those in effect in Europe will allow economically aggressive immigrants to come to the United States on a temporary basis, creating a win-win relationship: They contribute to the American economy while taking earnings back to their native country.*

It is a snare and a delusion to believe any guest-worker program can be "temporary." The speaker recommends a program modeled on those in Europe; the Europeans found that they "sent for workers, and got people instead." (In many cases the workers subsequently sent for families and all stayed permanently.) Even the orderly Swiss have had a great deal of difficulty in rotating guest-workers home. This has been the experience around the world, except perhaps in the most authoritarian societies. Open societies like ours, with a multitude of socially active groups willing to plead the special case to remain of any individual guest-worker, have an especially hard time assuring that guest-workers are temporary.

As to the United States serving as the *valva de escapa* for Mexico, this overlooks the net entrance into the Mexican labor market each year of about one million persons. And Mexico is just one of the many countries that would like to use the United States as an escape valve. There is the rest of Central and South America, plus the Caribbean, to name only our southern neighbors. Worldwide — only a plane ticket away — many tens of millions of persons are joining the ranks of the under- and unemployed each year. There is no way the United States can serve as an escape valve for a problem of this magnitude. Recall that it was only last year that "free trade" pacts, such as NAFTA were promoted as the best means of halting the wholesale migration of poor people to the U.S.

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Incidentally, with 30 million adults in this country who are semi-illiterate, or illiterate, it is hard to see why we have any need for low-skilled guest-workers. We also need studies of remittances to learn how big a factor they are in our balance-of-payments deficits.

Representative Gingrich then urges us to (8) be less suspicious about issuing visas so that tourism can flourish and bring more foreign dollars to the American economy. By being strict with our permits and lax about our borders, he writes, we're stopping the wrong people from entering the country.

I am not quite sure what he means by being more "practical and helpful" in issuing visitor visas. Does this mean less exacting and careful? It is precisely in the issuance of visas that we have our first line of defense — our overseas border, if you will — against those coming by land, sea, and air who would abuse our system. Unfortunately, our "suspicious attitudes" are well grounded. As pointed out in the comments on points two and three above, over half of the illegal immigration problem is attributable to persons who arrived legally, and then simply stayed on.

"These capable persons need to stay home and help their own countries to prosper. This will in turn help mitigate the pressure for illegal immigration"

Another "obvious principle" that Mr. Gingrich advances is that (9) our country should be "as open and enthusiastic as ever" in welcoming legal immigrants provided they have skills, knowledge or investment capital to bring with them, or are reuniting with immediate family members.

If by being "as open and enthusiastic as ever about legal immigrants" he means adhering to historical practices, I agree. These include long pauses (such as 1924-1945) after floods of immigration (1890-1924) that allowed at least a modicum of assimilation and, yes, Americanization of past immigrants. We now need such a pause or moratorium once again after the latest binge (1965-1995). This is especially true in light of the declining skill level of today's immigrants under the 1965 Act's family preference scheme. I agree with the principle of reunification only of immediate families and only under an overall ceiling, with the first preference going to U.S.-born petitioners who are bringing foreign-born spouses and dependent, minor, never-married children, with any remaining spots going to immigrants allowed to bring dependents in the same categories — but not parents, brothers and sisters, or more distant relatives.

I am less sanguine than the speaker about preferences for "immigrants who possess knowledge, skills, and investment capital." These capable persons need to stay home and help their own countries to prosper. This will in turn help mitigate the pressure for illegal immigration by easing the economic gap between the developed and less-developed countries.

There is one further point — this is my most important one on how to control illegal immigration: *legal* immigration must be sharply reduced if *illegal* immigration is to be controlled. One of the chief causes of migration, whether legal or illegal, is the counter flow to the home country of cash, goods, information, job offers, and general encouragement to emigrate. Few are aware of the connection because the flow is away from us in this "immigration information network," and hence not easily seen. This feedback is a tremendous stimulant to migration.

In the United States we tend to think of immigration as legal and illegal; in the countries of origin, it is often thought of simply as "go or not go." If a legal spot is available, fine; if not, then going illegally is no big deal, considering the welcome illegals now get from our government (health care, bilingual ballots and education, the Earned Income Tax Credit, affirmative action preferences, etc.) and from private groups (legal services, the sanctuary movement, etc.).

The high volume of information transmitted back to the countries of origin through this immigration information network, whether from legal or illegal entrants, encourages a correspondingly high interest in migration, whether legally or illegally. Immigration — legal or illegal — begets immigration — if not legal, then illegal.

If the immigration door should remain "as open as ever" the question remains: how wide? Should we admit ten thousand per year ... a hundred thousand ... a million ... or ten million a year? Even a hundred million a year would be possible — that's about the annual increase in the world's population. On this point we need to leave abstraction behind and get down to concrete numbers. As with balancing the

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budget, this is the hard part.

Representative Gingrich's final principle (10) is that except for emergency health care, no welfare or other government aid should be given to illegal immigrants. To do otherwise, he writes, is the sign of an American welfare bureaucracy that is out of touch with reality.

I agree with the speaker that welfare should not knowingly be given to illegal immigrants — nor to legal immigrants. There was a time when becoming a "public charge" was sufficient grounds for deportation. We should revive that practice. It offends all sensibility to place the parents of immigrants on Supplemental Security Income, or give illegal immigrants free non-emergency health care, or grant citizenship for their children born here. This, however, takes us back to his sixth point about the need for identification. Unfortunately, in this complex society, with many social benefits available, we need to know who is eligible, and for which programs. We simply cannot be the social service and welfare agency for anyone in the world who manages to get here.

Conclusion

Mr. Gingrich concludes by writing:

> *There is no magic to solving the problem of illegal immigrants. It is not intellectually challenging. Throughout history, countries that have survived have learned to maintain their borders. There are plenty of practical examples of how to get the job done. If we work at it, we can dry up 95 percent of illegal immigration within two or three years. Our challenge is to get to a clear decision, develop a workable plan, and implement it relentlessly.*

Those of us who have worked in the immigration reform movement for some time are glad to see a public commitment to controlling illegal immigration and the recognition on one leader's part that there is "no magic" involved. This represents a big step forward.

But I cannot agree with him that "it is not intellectually challenging." It may seem that way only if one believes that legal and illegal immigration are unrelated and can be considered as separate entities; they cannot. As I contend above, the migrant's world does not work that way.

I have found it very challenging intellectually to try and provide answers to the three most fundamental questions that summarize the immigration policy debate:

1. **How many** people shall we admit, and **what factors** should be taken into account in setting this limit?

2. **Who** should be chosen to immigrate, and **what criteria** should be used for choosing?

3. **How** can we humanely enforce the rules we decide upon?

It is timely and gratifying that the topic of immigration is at long last being recognized as a key issue in American politics, and by a politician as important as the Speaker of the House of Representatives. But the views expressed by Mr. Gingrich show just how big a challenge we face. ■

NOTES

[1] Newt Gingrich, *To Renew America*, New York: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 1995.

[2] Maria Puente, "Many visitors just don't bother to go home," *USA Today*, January 31, 1995. (Reprinted in this journal on page 52.)

[3] Joel Brinkley, "For Aliens, Cruises Provide Easy U.S. Entry," *The New York Times*, November 29, 1994.

[4] *Detroit Jewish News*, "New Monitors to Watch Tourists," September 15, 1995.

"Brain Drain" Materials Sought

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT staff is undertaking a "Brain Drain" project. In particular we wish to evaluate the effects on the countries of origin. We solicit any relevant data, articles, sources, anecdotes, etc.

— The Editors

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The Status of "Official English"

By Robert D. Park

What's new on the language front? Recent weeks have seen a great deal of political interest focused on so called "Official English", a term that means different things to different people. A court has given it new and far reaching meaning.

In his book *To Renew America*, Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, refers to "English as the American language" and speaks of the dangers of bilingualism, but he doesn't go so far as to promote "official English" legislation.

On the other hand Peter Brimelow, in *Alien Nation: Common Sense About America's Immigration Disaster*, addresses the need for an English language requirement for potential immigrants which he believes would make Americanization easier and would result in doing away with bilingual education. "A Constitutional amendment making English the official language could be a decisive step." he writes.

Presidential candidates, notably Bob Dole and Pat Buchanan, have voiced the need for an official language. In his speech before the American Legion national convention Dole warned of "ethnic separatism" but seemed to focus on the need to teach English to immigrant youngsters.

Buchanan said that if elected he will order the Justice Department to back Arizona's "English only" law. Looking to Quebec, he said "I think we need English as a common bond and a common language."

Nothing in recent years, however, focused more attention on the hazards of language separatism than the October 30, 1995 vote in Quebec on the issue of secession from Canada. In the narrowest of outcomes, a slim loss for the separatists, leaves that troubling question for another time.

Meanwhile, Judge Stephen Reinhardt of the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, writing for the majority in a 6 - 5 split, set the record straight on October 5, 1995 in *Yniguez v. Arizona*. It seems that everyone, heretofore, has missed the point. In clear terms and for the first time in jurisprudence, he ruled that "...language is by definition speech, and the regulation of any language is the regulation of speech."

Thus, at least for the moment, as to the question of whether the people, acting directly (via initiative as in Yniguez) or through a legislative body, may determine the language to be used in government functions, the answer is, according to Judge Reinhardt, no! The First Amendment protects a government employee in the choice of language for all official functions.

In a dissenting opinion Circuit Judge Alex Kozinski called this an extraordinary ruling with explosive and far-reaching consequences. Judge Kozinski points out that employees may force their employer into federal court to prove, to the exacting standard of the First Amendment, that its interest in enforcing its rules outweighs the employees' right not to make statements they find objectionable. In his dissenting opinion Judge Kozinski wrote:

> *Mana-Kelly Yniguez was hired by the State of Arizona to perform various functions connected with processing medical malpractice claims. The people of Arizona - Yniguez's ultimate superiors - then augmented her duties: they charged her with promoting English by using only that language for official business.... What Yniguez says, and in what tongue, is thus, no longer a business judgement by her employer; it's a constitutional question.*

Alluding to "zillions" of other government employees, Judge Kozinski gives other examples:

- A city adopts a bilingual policy to give non-Anglophone residents better access to government services, but an employee claims a First Amendment right to speak only English. In his view, use of other language denies minority groups a fair opportunity to assimilate;
- A deputy sheriff thinks the Miranda warning is silly and tells suspects, "Lawyers are slimeballs. Fess up, and the judge'll go easy on you."

Stay tuned. With the support of English Language Advocates, petition for certiorari is being filed. ■

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Liberals Duck Immigration Debate

By Michael Lind

New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani has been praised by liberals for his courage in opposing measures to deter the use of public services by illegal immigrants. The truth is that ignoring the rising costs of mass immigration, legal as well as illegal, is anything but courageous — or liberal.

While business-class and populist Republicans have engaged in serious debate about immigration, discussion of the subject by Democrats is still governed by taboos. The consensus liberal position rests on two articles of faith.

First, while illegal immigration may cost the jobs of low-skilled American workers, no legal immigrant has ever displaced an American worker. Second, any suggestion that the arrival of almost a million legal immigrants a year has any effect on job opportunities and wages in the United States is said to be sinister racist "scapegoating."

Though this viewpoint is appealing, the harmful effects of legal as well as illegal immigration on low-income American workers are real. The Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas has attributed "heavy immigration to border cities" as the reason for unusually high unemployment in cities like Laredo, El Paso and McAllen. The economist George Borjas has calculated that immigration accounted for a third of the decline in the wages of high school dropouts in the 1980s; a major cause is the willingness of foreign workers to accept lower wages.

While the economists debate the magnitude of the displacement of native labor by immigrants, the white and black working poor have been fleeing the metropolitan areas of California and other states where the economic competition with Latin American and Asian newcomers is the most intense.

The downward drag on wages caused by immigration is likely to grow worse. The economy cannot expand rapidly enough to provide decent jobs for the bottom half of the native population, much less for hundreds of thousands of legal immigrants arriving each year. Figures from the Census Bureau and the Bureau of Labor Statistics show that the number of new entrants to the work force will outstrip the number of jobs created by more than a million and a half between 1995 and 2005.

From the point of view of business-class conservatives, the labor supply can never be too large, and wages never too low. It is no coincidence that spokesmen for the plutocratic wing of conservatism, like Dick Armey, the House majority leader, and the editorialists of *The Wall Street Journal*, favor even higher levels of immigration and the abolition of the minimum wage.

Unable to win on the facts, all too many pro-immigration liberals resort to nostalgia. With misty eyes and trembling voice, they invoke the Statue of Liberty and accuse critics of treason not only to American ideals but to the memories of immigrant ancestors. This may be good politics for politicians like Mayor Giuliani, but it is bad history.

The movement to curtail immigration in the early 20th century was opposed by business leaders enjoying access to cheap labor, but was supported by many labor leaders. Samuel Gompers, the American Federation of Labor president, argued that the flood of European immigrants was depressing wages.

He was right. From 1890 to 1920, American wages rose from 2 to 4 percent less than they would have in the absence of immigration, according to the Harvard economist Claudia Goldin.

The many ethnic divisions among native and immigrant workers at the time explain the weakness of the American labor and social democratic movements, compared with those in Western Europe's low-immigration democracies. And cynical employers who pursued a divide-and-rule policy of "balancing the nationalities" exploited these divisions.

The restriction of immigration in the 1920s, by encouraging a tight labor market and a culturally unified work force, was a precondition for the successes of the labor movement and New Deal liberalism from the 1930s to the 1960s.

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The liberal taboo against realistic discussion of immigration extends to a refusal to acknowledge its effects on poor blacks. In the 19th century, as Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington noted, European immigrants displaced black workers from jobs as longshoremen, artisans, barbers and caterers. Closing the borders in the 1920s opened up job opportunities for blacks in the North laying the basis for economic gains and the civil rights movement.

Since 1965, however, the black working poor have suffered again from competition, this time with Latin Americans and Asians. There can be little doubt that many employers discriminate against African-American workers and in favor of immigrants, who are more likely to accept low wages and poor conditions without complaint.

Many immigrant groups, once they have moved into professions like taxi service or the grocery business, set up nepotistic networks in hiring and finance from which long-resident urban blacks are frozen out.

"A few courageous liberals ... have dared to bring up the relationship between mass immigration and falling wages."

Why have liberals been silent about the economic effects of immigration on their natural constituency — the working poor, and black workers in particular? One reason is the inability of liberals to say no to any apparently generous program, particularly if it aims to help those in poor countries. Another is the influence of Hispanic groups seeking to enlarge their constituencies. Many affluent opinion-makers in politics, the media and academia themselves benefit from a never-ending supply of low-wage immigrant maids, janitors, receptionists and other poorly paid, non-unionized employees.

A few courageous liberals like former Representative Barbara Jordan of Texas have dared to bring up the relationship between mass immigration and falling wages. Ms. Jordan, chairman of the bipartisan Federal Commission on Immigration Reform, called for limiting family-reunification immigration to nuclear families, eliminating the annual allotment of 10,000 visas to unskilled foreign workers, deterring illegal immigration by means of a national identity card, and capping legal immigration at 550,000 a year (down from almost 800,000 a year in 1994).

These sensible reforms do not go far enough. We should also follow most other democracies in making it difficult for employers to hire non-citizens if qualified citizens are available. When many college graduates cannot find good jobs, why are we issuing so many work permits for foreign workers (more than 600,000 last year)? Why should a company be allowed to replace American computer programmers with Indian guest workers in the United States?

The United States can no longer be the world's employment agency and welfare service of first resort. A genuine liberal policy toward immigration would reduce the supply of surplus labor by reducing the supply of immigrants. A tight labor market is the best program for restarting America's stalled engine of upward mobility.

The liberal case for reform is based on numbers — on the quantity of immigrants, not their quality. Under a rational plan, most immigrants would still come from Latin America and Asia; they would simply arrive in smaller contingents. Unlike conservatives, liberals should insist that legal immigrants, while waiting to be naturalized, should have access to the basic civil rights and entitlements of American citizens.

For 30 years, we have had an immigration policy tailored to the convenience of the American overclass. Pro-labor liberals and non-racist populists on the right should unite to demand an immigration policy that puts the interests of American workers above the interests of the native rich. ■

Arrests Increase

In January 1995, 39,585 illegal aliens were arrested along the Texas border. This is approximately 20 percent more than for the same period in 1994.

— *U. S. Immigrant*, Volume 3, Number 4, 1995

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Many Visitors Just Don't Bother to Go Home

By Maria Puente

The image of illegal immigrants scurrying over the Mexican border is familiar to most Americans, but it's only a partial picture of illegal immigration in the USA, officials say.

Indeed, more than half the estimated 4 million illegal immigrants are "visa overstays" — people who enter the country legally on a tourist, student or business visa but don't go home — says the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

But visa overstays are not a part of the current immigration debate — which has seen more INS resources shifting to a blockade of border states.

"The border is the hot issue — you can take pictures of people clambering over the border," says Cecilia Munoz, senior analyst at the Hispanic immigrant-rights group National Council of La Raza. "Visa overstayers don't make good 30-second sound bites."

One reason: overstayers are perceived to "blend in" better than even native Hispanics. In New York and New Jersey, for instance, the largest groups of overstayers are from Poland, Italy and Portugal. "One of the great ironies is that an Italian who arrived yesterday is perceived as 'more American' than a fifth-generation Mexican-American — and that drives our community crazy," Munoz says.

Last year Congress made it even easier for Irish and Portuguese to come to the USA, by adding Ireland and Portugal to the "visa waiver list."

"As long as you didn't get into trouble with the law, you were fine," says Sean Murphy, 33, an Irish overstayer who eventually got a green card and now is a contractor. "You could go to a bar, find out about work, even cash your paycheck with the bartender."

Visitors from the 22 countries on the list don't have to get visas for short visits because the countries don't have a history of visa fraud or large numbers of illegal immigrants in the USA.

"That's a huge, Mack truck hole in our ability to stop illegal immigration," says Dan Stein of the Federation for American Immigration Reform.

Visas are issued by the State Department, which is supposed to reject applicants believed to be potential overstayers. The INS estimates only 150,000 a year overstay of a total of 22 million visitors. But the INS has no way to track down and deport overstayers. Only 658 overstayers were deported in 1993 of 36,700 immigrants expelled.

INS Commissioner Doris Meissner says the way to discourage overstayers is to reduce access to jobs by beefing up enforcement of employer sanctions.

And immigration lawyers and leaders of the nation's $77 billion tourism industry worry about increased attention to visa overstays.

"...the INS has no way to track down and deport overstayers. Only 658 overstayers were deported in 1993 of 36,700 immigrants expelled."

Warren Leiden, head of the American Immigration Lawyers Association, says it's already extremely difficult for visitors from Third World countries to get visitor visas.

"We caution against Draconian measures that penalize all visa visitors for sins of a few," says William Norman, president of the Travel Industry Association of America.

But Draconian measures may not be necessary. "Make it clear that people have to leave and then enforce departure — and the U.S. has never done that," says the American Bar Association's Carol Wolchok. ■

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George Immerwahr, a retired actuary and demographer, writes from Bothell, Washington. A teacher of demography, he also worked to evaluate population strategies for the U.S. A.I.D. program and for the World Health Organization. His article, "Take Me With You to the U.S.A." appeared in the Spring 1995 issue of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.

The Immigration We Have Brought on Ourselves

By George E. Immerwahr

Many of us are deeply concerned over the present high level of immigration and the domestic problems which are exacerbated by immigration, but are we equally aware of the extent to which immigration has been heightened by U.S. policies in which we ourselves may have acquiesced?

Legal immigration is now averaging close to one million a year, and annual illegal immigration, net of return migration, may run as high as another 400,000. Immigrant women often have much higher fertility than white Americans, and Mexican-born immigrant women have a total fertility rate[1] (TFR) double that of non-Hispanic white women and possibly higher even than that of Mexican women living in Mexico.

Because of the high level of immigration and high immigrant fertility, it is now feared that total U.S. population may reach and surpass 500 million during the 21st century, whereas it was once thought that the population would peak out at about 300 million and then slowly decline.

About 90 percent of recent legal immigrants and virtually all illegal immigrants are persons born in the less-developed countries (LDCs) of Latin America, Asia and Africa, and these are the countries in which population is growing most rapidly and where fertility rates are relatively high. Europe, which was the main source of immigrants before 1950, now has very low fertility and practically no population growth other than immigration from the LDCs.

It is commonly recognized that poverty and the pressures arising from LDC population growth, and an LDC labor force growth much more rapid than their ability to create jobs, are the main forces driving people into the more-developed countries (MDCs) of North America, Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and now also into Japan. But we should add to this that modern communication has heightened overseas awareness of the MDCs' higher living standards, and that modern international transportation has facilitated the movement of people into the MDCs.

Mexico is just one of the many LDCs in which population has skyrocketed during this century. Mexico is believed to have had only 14 million people in 1900. Today it has 90 million, but this number does not include many additional millions of persons now in our country who — or whose forbears — were living in Mexico earlier in the century. Counting them, it may be said that Mexico has had a seven-fold population growth over the last 95 years. Until about 1970, Mexico's TFR was about 7. It has now declined substantially, but because there are so many Mexican women now at childbearing ages due to the high fertility of the past, Mexico's population will continue its rapid growth for several decades to come, even if more millions emigrate.

Add to all this the current political and civil turmoil and conflict prevalent in so much of the world, particularly in the LDCs. One example is the violence which erupted in 1994 in Rwanda, and which may now be spreading into neighboring Burundi. Another example is Haiti (where internal conflict is far from settled), another the continuing Palestinian-Israeli conflict, still another the oppression of the Kurds by both Turkey and Iraq, not to mention the many less-publicized conflicts and unrest in a host of other LDCs.[2]

Several of the conflicts just mentioned are in regions where fertility rates and population growth rates are high, and where population density is much higher than ever before. There can be little doubt that population growth and overcrowding have greatly contributed to the troubles of Haiti, Rwanda and Burundi, and also of the Palestinian people. The West Bank has a population density of 700 people per

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square mile, the Gaza strip several thousand per square mile. Rwanda, before the mass killings in 1994, had a density over 800 per square mile even though there were no large cities; its population had grown about six-fold just during this century.

Not only do we find population growth, poverty and conflict leading people to flee their homelands, but also that countries which years ago were so uncrowded that they might have offered possible refuge are now so crowded that their own inhabitants are trying to flee.

The United States is viewed by people of many LDCs as not only the richest country in the world but also as the most powerful, and therefore the safest place of refuge.

During the 1960s and 1970s, our country took the lead in providing development assistance to most of the LDCs, including programs intended to reduce the rate of population growth. More recently, some other MDCs' efforts have exceeded ours, and some LDCs now accuse us of contributing to their poverty.

Let's look at two factors which definitely have increased our recent immigration, namely, our desire for cheap labor and our long fixation on world-communism.

Cheap Labor

In world history, the procurement of people for cheap labor is one of the most important factors explaining international movement of peoples. Millions of Indians who have never seen India are the descendants of indentured workers whom the British transported into their other former colonies around the world, to work in the production of tea, rubber and many other export products. Our own colonial forbears, and the white colonizers of Latin America, are responsible for an even greater and a far crueler procurement of cheap labor by the import of African slaves. One can only speculate how different U.S. history might have been had those of British ancestry who dominated our South been willing to do their own work or to pay a fair wage to have it done. Our own agricultural, economic and political development would have been immensely different from what it turned out to be. Think how different the history of African peoples would have been.

After our Civil War came a new importation of people whom we wanted as cheap labor, namely, the Chinese who were brought in to build the railroads in the western part of our country. The Chinese were so unwanted as human beings that when we no longer needed them, we drove many out and closed down all further entry. Later we closed down Japanese entry as well.

But Mexico has been our chief source of cheap labor during this century. During both World War I and II, we negotiated treaties with the Mexican government for the import of temporary agricultural workers under what were called the "bracero" programs. At least during World War II, our manpower situation was such that the need for these workers was genuine.

"...countries which years ago were so uncrowded that they might have offered possible refuge are now so crowded that their own inhabitants are trying to flee."

Although the last bracero program was officially terminated in 1966, it set in motion a continuing desire on the part of poor Mexicans to come here for jobs and also our continuing preference to hire them as cheap labor. Many of us like to think only of the urge of Mexicans to come here, but according to many observers, the desire of American employers to hire them is at least as great. Bustamante (1992) and others[3] write of the ease with which illegal immigrants find jobs and allude to the pressure which employers exert to maintain the flow of immigrant labor. Bustamante tells how, as a U.S. senator, Pete Wilson demanded the relaxation of border control in order to ease the entry of undocumented migrants, and how, once he put on the hat of California governor, Wilson became an anti-immigration firebrand.

Bustamante and others insist not only that the United States cannot maintain its living standard without importing foreign labor but also that the U.S. need for immigrant labor will increase. One of their points is that we are an aging society, that the birth rate decline that followed the 1946-64 baby-boom will have greatly reduced the supply of Anglo entrants into the labor market.

I am far from convinced of the need for foreign labor which Bustamante describes. Unlike the situation

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during World War II, we may have enough slack in today's domestic labor market to fill with Americans the jobs now held by Mexican and Central American illegal immigrants. The claim that these are jobs which Americans will not take is questionable. What is much more likely is that Americans will not accept these jobs with the poor wages and working conditions provided for the immigrants. Further, it is reasonable to expect that more and more of the routine services now performed by immigrants will become automated.

"East Germany was more prudent when it imported labor ... it admitted only male and female workers, no children..."

Admittedly, to attract American workers by paying more would not be a simple solution. For one thing, it would increase what we as consumers would have to pay for food and for services in retail stores, hotels, hospitals, and so on. And the higher pay would make crossing our borders even more attractive to outsiders than it is now.

European countries also brought in outside labor after World War II. Britain invited workers from its colonies and dominions, and so many came and brought their families that eventually there was a strong movement to shut the door and even to send people back. West Germany had the same experience, largely with workers from Turkey. East Germany was more prudent: when it imported labor from communist satellite countries, it admitted only male and female workers, no children; and women who became pregnant were sent back to their home countries.

Anti-communism

The very thought of communism and communists has tormented many Americans during much of this century. We can agree that communism is an economic theory which, wherever tried, has failed to improve human welfare, and we may note as well that governments which have proclaimed communism as economic salvation have dealt tyrannically with their own subjects in trying to implement it. We also had good reason for fearing the Soviet Union as a military threat to our security. But to fear communism as an ideology which would be accepted by our own people, as many of our politicians feared, was an insult to our intelligence. Yet this fear of communism has led us into many tragic situations.

The Vietnam War was one of these. It will probably be recorded as the greatest folly in U.S. history, extremely tragic, and completely lacking in any moral justification. This lack of justification was apparent to millions of Americans from the very start, and now at last one of those most responsible for the war, Robert S. McNamara, has confessed that, "We were wrong, terribly wrong."

The unsuccessful end of the Vietnam War obligated us to admit as refugees large numbers of South Vietnamese who had collaborated with us in the war and who were therefore presumably endangered when our own forces had to leave Vietnam. Together with family members, along with some Cambodians and Laotians and their families, we took in almost one million Indo-Chinese refugees. Even today, 20 years after the war, Vietnamese commandos who aided our military are still claiming refugee status here (see *The New York Times*, April 14, 1995, p.1).

Even had we won the war, we might have taken in hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese, because we had formed political links with them. We had formed similar links with Filipinos as the result of our having occupied the Philippines for half a century, and we now have over a million Filipinos in our country. We do not have corresponding numbers of Malaysians, Indonesians or Thais here, since we did not form such links with them.

During the 1980s, the Reagan Administration set out to crush communism in Central America with the same fervor and with the same "domino theory" fear that took us into Vietnam. In Central America, our main foes were the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and the peasant rebels in El Salvador. To crush them, we armed the "contras" in the former country and the "death squads" in the latter. Between the two campaigns, we may have spent as much as $10 billion.

Largely due to the El Salvador death squads, over half a million Salvadoran refugees fled here, and in fact, they are still with us. The number of Nicaraguans who came was much smaller, as the Sandinistas had much more support from the Nicaraguan people than the Salvadoran government had from its people. Moreover, our CIA's support of "anti-communists" in Guatemala did drive many Guatemalans here as

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refugees. It is paradoxical that the refugees from Central America were mostly on the side of the forces we were fighting against, whereas the Vietnamese refugees were those on our side.

Even though he has provided the Cuban people better health care and education than any other Latin Americans have enjoyed, Fidel Castro will likely not go down in history as a benevolent ruler. Our treatment of him certainly has not been beneficial to the Cuban people. Even though the dictator Batista, whom Castro overthrew, had had our support, Castro did come to Washington to seek our friendship, only to be rebuffed as a communist by both Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon. True, Castro was a Marxist, but he defended his rule as "not communist but humanist." When Kennedy came to office he continued to treat Castro as a communist enemy, welcoming as refugees as many Cubans as wanted to come, embargoing most trade and then embarking on the Bay of Pigs venture. All this led to Cuba's solid alliance with the Soviet Union and the 1962 missile crisis.

"As world population grows, the conflicts which drive people to flee from their homelands are almost certain to multiply."

For years, we have encouraged Cubans to come here as refugees and provided that all those who managed to reach our shores could stay. Once a large number of Cubans had arrived as refugees, we then admitted great numbers of their relatives and friends, and our Cuban-American population far exceeds one million. I wonder what might have happened if the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations had modified their anti-communist political stance enough to listen to what Castro wanted to say.

Our generous treatment of Cubans as so-called refugees from communism subjected us to much activism on behalf of Haitians, whose sufferings from the Duvaliers and their followers — in the form of murder, torture and rape — far exceeded the sufferings of Cubans. Had we been "softer" on Castro and much "harder" on the Duvaliers, we might have escaped both refugees and activism.

Today it is our trade embargo which is gravely hurting the Cuban people by depriving them of many needed food and medical items. Rather than hurting Castro, the embargo has given him an additional propaganda tool against us. But the misery it has caused the Cuban people has also greatly increased their desire to immigrate here. We may be able to keep most of them out, but it will not be easy. The embargo has been denounced both by the U.N. General Assembly and the Organization of American States. Today, instead of urging relaxation of the embargo, conservative elements in Congress are pushing for its tightening by threatening other nations that trade with Cuba.

We also have been unduly generous to Russians claiming asylum from communism. It often seemed that our eagerness to give asylum here to anyone seeking to defect from the USSR was less a matter of compassion for the defector than an occasion to show to the world that our system was better than that of the Soviet.

The Population Problem

Do we really wish to combat the forces of LDC population growth, poverty and violence already described, which have led hundreds of millions — or perhaps billions — of desperate LDC people to believe that their only salvation is to come here or to other affluent countries? Or would we rather pretend that these forces do not exist and hope that we can save ourselves from more immigration just by building strong police-state walls and employing harsh police-state measures?

We will very likely need to use both the walls and overseas measures, but these may not be enough. Every year in the immediate future we can expect at least an 85 million natural increase of population in the LDCs (i.e., an 85 million excess of births over deaths), and each year's natural increase will be much harder for the LDCs to absorb than the previous year's.

The recent make-over of Congress does not bring prospects of a solution. The American people have brought on themselves a Congress which seems determined to abandon whatever efforts have already been made to reduce the rate of population growth. There will very likely be less commitment than before to provide economic aid to the LDCs, and the new Senate seems very much opposed to spending money for population programs, especially for the benefit of countries approving abortion.

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As world population grows, the conflicts which drive people to flee from their homelands are almost certain to multiply. We and other MDCs have not been immune from the pressure to take in people from troubled lands as refugees. We ourselves took in many refugees from far away Ethiopia. What will we do in the face of more Ethiopias, more Haitis, Bosnias, Rwandas?

Will we be willing to use armed peacemakers, where necessary, to quell these conflicts? If unwilling to act on our own, will we agree to join the UN in its efforts as peacemakers and peacekeepers? The previous Senate was critical of Clinton's use of the military in Haiti, even though without military action we almost certainly would have had to cope with great numbers of Haitian refugees. All indications are that the present Senate will be even more unwilling to undertake foreign intervention and may adhere to a policy of non-intervention regardless of the potential for refugee generation. It will not merely refuse to join UN peacekeeping efforts but may even oppose them.

As one who has lived and worked among LDC people, I have long sensed their desperation, a desperation that often takes the form of anger. Even from thousands of miles away, we can sense this anger when we see the mass demonstrations that are currently taking place. The desperation and anger are the more acute when many thousands of people are packed into a tiny place like the Gaza strip. We may not agree (and I for one certainly do not agree) that the blame for their poverty and overcrowding is largely ours, but that does not mean that we are safe from an invasion by these angry people.

My main contention is that there is a desperate and angry world out there, and unless we take steps to curb the desperation of angry people, and the proliferation of their numbers, we may be unable to hold back their invasion regardless of how we may try. ■

NOTES

[1] A total fertility rate represents the mean number of live births that women will have, assuming that women survive to the end of their reproductive years and assuming also that fertility continues at present levels. Abernethy (1993) states that immigrant Mexican women had a TFR of 3.90 in 1990; that of U.S. non-Hispanic white women was 1.85 in that year. (Virginia Abernethy, *Population Politics*, p. 207, Plenum Press, New York).

[2] See, for instance, "The Coming Anarchy" by Robert Kaplan in the February 1994 issue of *The Atlantic Monthly*.

[3] U.S.-Mexican Relations: Labor Market Dependence," (Jorge A. Bustamante et al, ed., 1992, Stanford University Press, Stanford. See also Alexander Monto, "The Roots of Mexican Labor Migration: The Social Process of International Migration from Western Mexico," 1994, Praeger, Westport, CT; and Massey, D. S. et al, "Return to Aztlan," 1987, University of California Press, Berkeley.

Speaking in Tongues

In Michigan, the test for a state driver's license is offered in these 19 different languages, in addition to English:

Arabic	Italian	Portuguese
Chinese	Japanese	Serbo Croatian
Finnish	Korean	Spanish*
French	Laotian	Ukrainian
German	Persian	Vietnamese
Greek	Polish	Yiddish

*both New World and Castilian

Query: If drivers cannot read English, how do they read the traffic control signs?

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Robert Rector is a senior policy analyst for welfare and family issues, and William Lauber is a research assistant at The Heritage Foundation, a Washington-based public policy research institute. Their report appeared in April 1995 and is printed here with permission

America Is Becoming a Deluxe Retirement Home

By Robert Rector and William Lauber

America's welfare system is rapidly becoming a deluxe retirement home for the elderly of other countries.

Many individuals now immigrate to the United States specifically to obtain welfare benefits that far exceed those available in their own countries. Non-citizens today are among the fastest growing groups of welfare dependents.

In 1982, there were 127,000 alien residents receiving aid from the Supplemental Security Insurance program. By 1994, that number had mushroomed to 738,000 — a 580 percent increase in just 12 years. The overwhelming majority of immigrants on SSI is elderly. Most seek welfare within five years of coming to the United States.

The data show that welfare is becoming a way of life for elderly immigrants. An analysis by Professor Norman Matloff of the University of California at Davis shows that 45 percent of that state's elderly immigrant population received cash welfare in 1990. Among Russian immigrants the figure was 66 percent; among Chinese, 55 percent.

And the practice is increasing. If current trends continue, the United States will have more than 3 million non-citizens on SSI within 10 years. Without reform, the total cost of SSI and Medicaid benefits for this population in the next decade will amount to more than $328 billion.

Immigration should be open to individuals who wish to come to the United States to work and become self-sufficient. America has always opened its doors to those who seek opportunity. But immigration should not become an avenue to welfare dependence.

Sources both in the United States and in foreign countries provide lots of advice on how immigrants can obtain welfare benefits. For example, in Taiwan and Hong Kong, and in Chinese bookstores in America, you can buy a Chinese-language publication entitled "What you Need to Know About Life in America," which includes a 36-page guide to SSI and other welfare benefits. In fact, the largest-circulation Chinese-language newspaper in the United States, *Shijie Ribao* (World Journal), now runs a regular Dear Abby-style advice column on SSI and other immigration-related matters.

Placing reasonable restrictions on immigrants receiving public assistance has always been part of the American tradition. The nation's first immigration law, passed by Congress in 1882, instructed immigration officials to deport any person who, in their opinion, might become a public charge. Even today, the Immigration and Nationality Act declares unequivocally: "Any alien who, within five years after the day of entry, has become a public charge from causes not affirmatively shown to have arisen since entry is deportable." The problem is, this provision of the law is not enforced.

"Sources both in the United States and in foreign countries provide lots of advice on how immigrants can obtain welfare benefits."

Relatives who sponsor the entry of elderly individuals into the United States implicitly promise their charges won't become a burden to U.S. taxpayers. But many, if not most, sponsors are enrolling their elderly immigrant relatives on welfare soon after the end of the three-year waiting period. Once on SSI, there is every indication these immigrants will remain on welfare indefinitely.

While Americans greatly sympathize with those

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who come to this country having suffered from political and economic oppression, U.S. welfare programs cannot redress those wrongs, nor should they serve as a global retirement pension. Besides, while many of the elderly non-citizens on SSI come from politically oppressive nations such as Cuba or the former Soviet Union, the majority come from other nations such as Mexico, the Dominican Republic, India, South Korea and the Philippines.

Most elderly immigrants have relatives who can support them. And most immigrant sponsors do, in fact, support their immigrant relatives for at least three years after their arrival. Terminating SSI benefits would simply mean having sponsors continue taking care of their elderly immigrant relatives.

Just as Americans expect parents to support their children, they also must expect individuals to care for and support their relatives who come to this country. This obligation should be permanent.

Under no circumstances should the cost of supporting elderly immigrants be borne by the American taxpayer. ■

Former LULAC President Sentenced

The former head of the nation's largest Hispanic organization will go to prison for running an illegal immigration scheme that prosecutors said netted him millions of dollars.

Jose Velez, former president of the League of United Latin Americans Citizens was given a six-year three-month prison sentence Thursday by a federal judge who called his conduct "totally inappropriate, even horrible."

Velez was convicted May 8 of one count of conspiracy and nine charges of filing false statements with the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Prosecutors claim he collected millions of dollars in fees from undocumented immigrants desperate to stay in the United States through the forging of citizenship documents. U.S. District Judge Lloyd George gave the 58-year-old Velez the sentence despite efforts by defense attorney Louis Palazzo to portray Velez as a crusader for immigration reform.

"We're not dealing with a murderer here, we're not dealing with a drug dealer selling massive quantities. That's the type of sentence being sought," Palazzo argued.

Velez, who headed LULAC from 1990 to 1994, told George that in his travels throughout the country, he wanted to carry the word of immigration eligibility. He said it was not his intent to flood the system with bogus applications. U.S. Department of Justice prosecutor Richard Shine disagreed.

"The people who are crusaders don't ask for cash payments. They don't keep cash in their safes in their home," Shine said.

The U.S. Department of Parole and Probation was recommending an eight-year prison term. Shine asked for a sentence that could have reached eleven years. Shine said Velez abused the trust he had as the head of LULAC, pulling in more than $9 million from 3,000 falsified applications.

He also said Velez corrupted his own son, Peter Velez, who was a postal worker before going to work with his father. Peter Velez testified during the trial after reaching a plea agreement for a 15-month prison sentence.

— *El Paso Herald-Post*, October 11, 1995

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Illegal Immigrant Takes Wrong Turn, Ends Up in Wisconsin

By Mike Royko

If you don't think that this is a great country, consider the adventures of Pablo Padron-Garcia.

On a recent hot day in a small Wisconsin town, the sheriff's office received an odd complaint. A stranger was knocking on doors, pleading for a drink of water. At least that's what the cautious residents thought he wanted. But they weren't sure because he spoke Spanish.

A deputy drove to the outskirts of Chippewa Falls and found a short, slender young man carrying a battered duffel bag and wearily shuffling along the road. "He was in pretty bad shape," recalls Mike Stangl, "because we had almost 100 degree temperatures.

"When I motioned for him to get in the car, he didn't try to run or anything like that. I don't think he could have. He just nodded and got in."

Stangl called in someone who spoke Spanish and they asked the man who he was and why he was knocking on doors on the edge of Chippewa Falls.

He said his name wa Pablo Padron-Garcia, 22, and he was knocking on doors because he was terribly thirsty. They gave him some juice and asked again — why was he in Wisconsin and Chippewa Falls? He shrugged and gave them a remarkable explanation: he said he was lost.

Lost? They asked him where he was supposed to be. He said that he was supposed to be either in the state of Colorado or the state of Virginia.

Then what was he doing in the state of Wisconsin? He wasn't sure. And he explained his confusion.

Some days earlier, he had illegally crossed the border near San Antonio. He had intended to travel to Virginia or Colorado, where he has friends and hoped to find work. It appeared that he got on a train somewhere in Texas. But it wasn't clear where the train took him.

While he was looking for Virginia or Colorado, he became confused and went the wrong way or overshot his mark.

And that's how he ended up knocking on doors in Chippewa Falls with $1 in his pocket and some cereal and canned food in his duffel bag.

There are many strange reasons why people go to Wisconsin. Some hope to shoot a goose and eat it. Others hope to sink a hook into the jaw of a big fish called the muskie and hang it on their rec room wall. Others enjoy the simple pleasure of eating bratwurst and cheese and washing it down with beer and shots of modestly priced brandy.

But this might be the first time that someone ended up in Wisconsin because he thought he was in Colorado. John Denver would have trouble writing a song about that.

As strange as it sounded, Deputy Stangl believed it. He figured that nobody would make up such a story. So he tried to figure out what to do with Pablo Padron-Garcia.

"This might be the first time that someone ended up in Wisconsin because he thought he was in Colorado."

He couldn't arrest him because he hadn't broken any local laws, and he had no authority to hold illegal immigrants.

So he called the FBI. They told him that it was unlikely that federal immigration officials would go all the way to Chippewa Falls for one measly illegal immigrant.

"So I went to the Chippewa County Department of Social Service, and they referred me to the Chippewa County Economic Support Office," Stangl said. "He didn't qualify for aid.

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"They told me to try the Salvation Army. But the Salvation Army said they were only equipped for emergencies. Meanwhile, this guy is quietly following me around to all these offices. There wasn't anybody who could do something for him because he wasn't a resident."

So the deputy turned him over to his interpreter, Dan Galvez, 40, who is also his brother-in-law. Galvez, the son of a Mexican immigrant, was sympathetic. Through his church, he got Pablo some more food for his tote bag. Then he took him home for a shower and a change of clothing. "I wanted to put him up, but my wife and I have five kids. There just aren't any facilities around here for the homeless."

The next stop was the town's Greyhound terminal. Galvez bought him a ticket and put him on a bus and waved goodbye. Destination, Colorado or Virginia?

"No, I put him on a bus to Chicago, where he had a better chance of finding someone who could help him. I told him to ask the first Hispanic person he saw for help." Which wasn't a bad idea. In Chicago, the odds are about 50-50 that he'll either get helped or mugged. You can't beat even-money.

And all of this proves that this is a wonderful country. Where else on the planet could you walk across a border, get lost, wander for almost 2,000 miles without knowing a word of the local language, and end up getting a bag full of groceries, a fresh change of clothes, and a free bus ticket to a world-class city?

He's probably still in Chicago. So if a thin young guy with a duffel bag comes up to you on the street and asks if this is Colorado, he won't be kidding. Tell him yes and buy him a meal. He won't know the difference. ■

But We Can't Control Our Borders

The Cold War is over — and U.S. forces are busier than ever. In 1994, 118,892 American troops served in the following "contingency" operations:

OPERATION	PLACE	TROOPS	PURPOSE
Deny Flight	Bosnia	8,679	No-fly zone enforcement
Distant Haven	Suriname	496	Refugee care
Korea	South Korea	1,150	Crisis response
Marine Intercept	Iraq	8,000	Sanctions enforcement
Provide Comfort	Northern Iraq	1,400	Humanitarian assistance
Provide Promise	Bosnia	725	Humanitarian assistance
Sea Signal	Haiti and Cuba	7,705	Refugee care
Safe Haven	Panama	3,525	Refugee care
Sharp Guard	Adriatic Sea	2,531	Sanctions enforcement
Southern Watch	Southern Iraq	14,000	No-fly zone enforcement
Support Hope	Rwanda	2,364	Humanitarian assistance
UNOSOM II	Somalia	2,000	Peace enforcement
UNPROFOR	Croatia/Macedonia	897	Peacekeeping
Uphold Democracy	Haiti	32,761	Intervention
Vigilant Warrior	Southern Iraq	28,952	Crisis response
Wild Fire	Western United States	3,707	Disaster relief

— *National Journal*, March 11, 1995

Number of troops protecting U.S. borders: none.

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Albert A. Bartlett, professor of physics at the University of Colorado, has lectured widely on the implications of population growth. Edward P. Lytwak is publications coordinator of Carrying Capacity Network, a nonprofit organization concerned with the balance between resources and population. This item is reprinted with the permission of the Biocentric Institute, Airlie, Virginia, and of Population and Environment: A Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies.

Population Stability and Immigration

By Albert A. Bartlett and Edward P. Lytwak

It is sometimes said that there is no population problem in the United States because the current U.S. fertility rate (the average number of children per woman) is approximately at the replacement level of 2.1. Yet the U.S. population of more than 260 million increased in 1992 by about 3 million people! This is a growth rate of 1.1 percent per year and it has a doubling time of about 63 years. Why is the U.S. population growing so rapidly when the fertility is at replacement level which is necessary for zero growth?

There are two major reasons: one is population momentum, the other is immigration.

Applying the Brakes on a Freight Train

Population momentum is a term that is used to describe the fact that if one has no immigration, and if one makes a sudden change in the fertility rate, the full effect of the change will not be realized until all persons have died who were living at the time the change was made. Since the normal life span is about 70 years, this means that if a high fertility rate is suddenly lowered to the replacement level of 2.1 children per woman, the population growth rate will drop gradually but will not reach zero for about 70 years, and during this 70 years the population will continue to grow.

This is a direct consequence of the fact that the fraction of a population that is young is higher in a growing population than in a stable non-growing population. If one has a young growing population and one lowers the fertility rate to 2.1, the large population of young people in the growing population all have to have their 2.1 children and die before zero population growth is reached. When these simple processes are modeled with a computer the result is that if the United States had zero immigration and maintained a fertility rate of 2.1 for 70 years, the U.S. population would grow to approximately 383 million before it finally became constant in about the year 2066.

The effect of immigration on population growth is more obvious. The larger the annual number of immigrants, the larger is the growth rate of the population that receives them. In order to have immigration *and* zero population growth, the fertility rate must be lower than the replacement level of 2.1 children per woman.

The fundamental and unavoidable arithmetic is this: to achieve zero population growth, the sum of the annual number of births plus the annual number of people entering a country (immigrants) must equal the sum of the annual number of deaths plus the annual number of people who leave a country (emigrants).

"...if the United States had zero immigration and maintained a fertility rate of 2.1 for 70 years, the U.S. population would grow to 383 million ... about the year 2066."

The data for the U.S. for 1992 show that the number of deaths plus the number of emigrants totaled about 2.4 million. For the U.S. to achieve zero population growth, the annual number of births plus the annual number of immigrants must also equal 2.4 million. But the data show that there were 4.1 million births in the U.S. in 1992 and 1.3 million immigrants (legal and illegal) for a total of 5.4 million. The population increase in the U.S. in 1992 is then (5.4 - 2.4 =) 3.0 million people! To achieve zero population growth instantly in the U.S., we must adjust

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the annual number of births plus the annual number of immigrants so the sum of the two is 2.4 million. Any combination of births plus immigrants that adds to 2.4 million per year will give zero population growth. Three possible combinations are:

(1) zero immigration and 2.4 million births;
(2) 1.2 million immigrants and 1.2 million births;
(3) zero births and 2.4 million immigrants.

The first case would require that the annual number of births in the U.S. drop from the present 4.1 million to 2.4 million. There are approximately 5 million marriages per year in the U.S., so that the requirement of 2.4 million births per year ius essentially the same as saying "One child per family," which one recognizes as the policy of the very coercive government of the Peoples' Republic of China. The government of China has recognized that the population of China is too large to be supported adequately and that *population growth interferes with economic growth.* They have taken draconian measures to try to stop population growth so that they can have the economic growth that will yield better lives for their people.

If the U.S. chose the option of zero immigration and one child per family, then, the U.S. could maintain zero population growth by gradually raising the one child per family to 2.1 children over the next 70 years, and by holding it at 2.1 thereafter.

Stabilization Through Immigration Reform

This brings us to the immigration debate. Currently a third to half of the U.S. population growth involves immigration, legal and illegal. Throughout the world, growing populations are living in misery. What would happen if one billion of the world's 5 to 6 billion people were free to migrate to the United States? This would increase the U.S. population by about a factor of five! Where you see one person now, you would see five people.

In the world and in the U.S. we have severe and growing social, resource, environmental and fiscal problems at every level of society. *It is clear that population growth in the past century has not solved any of these problems; in fact it has made them all worse.* The U.S. does not have the jurisdiction to solve the world's problems, but we have the jurisdiction and the responsibility to solve our own problems. Stopping U.S. population growth provides us with the best way to solve these problems humanely.

Some argue that we are a nation of immigrants: "We have always had immigration, so we should always have immigration." This is an example of what might be called the free-fall illusion. If one leaps from the top of the Empire State Building, the first five or six seconds of free fall are wonderfully exhilarating. But after about eight seconds, the free fall is interrupted by the pavement, and this interruption makes the future very different from the past. In mathematical terms, the pavement is a boundary condition which determines that the equation describing the free-fall cannot describe it forever.

"Currently a third to half of the U.S. population growth involves immigration, legal and illegal."

In the same way, population growth cannot continue forever. The finite resources upon which we depend for survival are the boundary condition that limits the size of the population that can be sustained. Lowering fertility rates, and stopping or reducing immigration should be seen as two essential elements of a comprehensive national survival strategy.

To have the benefits of zero population growth for ourselves, our children, our grandchildren,...we have three choices. We can:

(1) Voluntarily limit births and immigration to achieve zero population growth;

(2) Continue on the present path until our population is so large that draconian measures become necessary to stop the growth of population;

(3) Do nothing and let nature stop the growth through disease, starvation, war and pestilence. If humans do not solve the problem, nature will.

Population momentum determines that many consequences of today's reproductive choices and immigration policies will be borne by future generations. Perhaps this is one reason why we delay addressing our problem. The present generation still has the luxury of making a voluntary choice to achieve stability by stopping U.S. population growth. In a world that may have already exceeded its limits, the resource in shortest supply could well be time. ■

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Activists in Australia on the issues of population growth, immigration and the environment were heartened a few months ago by a statement from Bob Carr, premier of New South Wales, advocating a cap on Australia's population — the city of Sydney in New South Wales, is coping with massive immigration. Finally a front-page article in a national newspaper was questioning population growth. The item below is © The Weekend Australian, *and appeared in the issue of June 3-4, 1995. It is reprinted with permission.*

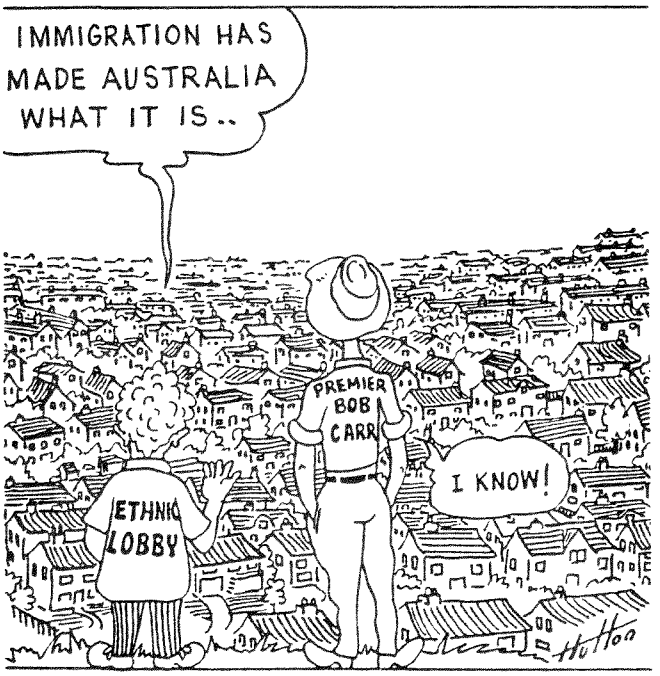
A City Bursting at the Seams

From *The Weekend Australian*

The premier of New South Wales, Mr. Carr, wants a cap on Australia's population — probably at a level not far from the present 18 million. In an interview with *The Weekend Australian*, he said those who argued that Australia should aim for a population of 30 million or 50 million were "totally scientifically illiterate." To achieve the goal implied by Mr. Carr of stabilizing the population would require maintaining the low immigration levels of recent years or even reducing them.

He said any intelligent person who looked at the evidence had to be persuaded by environmental limits on population. "The debate ought to be about the carrying capacity of the continent — a continent that has lousy soils, fragile vegetation, and depleted and degraded river systems," he said.

He also argued that the most successful economies in the world were those such as Japan, Germany and Switzerland with stable populations.



An inquiry chaired by federal ALP president and former science minister Mr. Barry Jones last year found that a stable population of 23 million could be achieved with net migration of 50,000 a year. Immigration in recent times peaked in 1988-89 with a net figure of 157,400. In 1992-93 net immigration was 30,500 with 49,600 the following year.

Mr. Carr triggered a debate last week when he argued that immigration should be cut on environmental grounds. He has gone further this week in challenging the post-World War II orthodoxy that immigration and rapid population growth deliver net economic benefits — still the basis of Canberra's immigration policy.

Mr. Carr wants to force Canberra to do what successive federal governments have avoided: set a target for Australia's population. Those who have advocated targets range from environmentalists who say the population should be allowed to fall to 7 million or lower, to economists and some business people who want Australia to have 80 million to 100 million people.

Mr. Carr also has challenged political orthodoxy by offending the ethnic lobby. In the interview he defined his position in the debate as "a supporter of multiculturalism, a fierce opponent of racial prejudice, yet someone who is aware of the ecological limits Australia is up against."

"I am arguing for a population policy while rejecting any element of discrimination in immigration policy. It is an intelligent mix which people

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understand," he said.

I have been encouraged by the response I have had, particularly from people with migrant backgrounds, people who know exactly what I'm talking about. I am happy to become the first Australian leader to say we ought to debate Australia's carrying capacity."

Asked about the attitude of other countries, including our neighbors, that Australia was under-populated, he said people overseas held this view only "until they fly over and see how much of it is desert."

Asked whether a low population argument was sustainable in the long run with a still growing world population, Mr. Carr responded: "We have got no alternative. If you focus on the Murray-Darling river system and if your soils are blown across the Tasman when the weather turns bad and if your marginal farm land is collapsing, you just have got no alternative."

Mr. Carr said he did not know what the optimum population level was for Australia but he would be exploring this in a detailed paper he had commissioned from his department. He stressed that this study would go further than his concerns over the population limits of the Sydney basin. ■

Optimum Population

The raging monster upon the land is population growth. In its presence, sustainability is but a fragile theoretical construct. To say, as many do, that the difficulties of nations are not due to people but to poor ideology or land-use management is sophistic. If Bangladesh had 10 million inhabitants instead of 115 million, its impoverished people could live on prosperous farms away from the dangerous floodplains midst a natural and stable upland environment. It is also sophistic to point to the Netherlands and Japan, as many commentators incredibly still do, as models of densely populated but prosperous societies. Both are highly specialized industrial nations dependent upon massive imports of natural resources from the rest of the world. If all nations held the same number of people per square kilometer, they would converge in quality of life to Bangladesh rather than to the Netherlands and Japan, and their irreplaceable natural resources would soon join the seven wonders of the world as scattered vestiges of an ancient history.

Every nation has an economic policy and a foreign policy. The time has come to speak more openly of a population policy. By this I mean not just the capping of growth when the population hits the wall, as in China and India, but a policy based on a rational solution of this problem: what, in the judgment of its informed citizenry, is the optimal population, taken for each country in turn, placed against the backdrop of global demography? The answer will follow from an assessment of the society's self-image, its natural resources, its geography, and the specialized long-term role it can most effectively play in the international community. It can be implemented by encouragement or relaxation of birth control and the regulation of immigration, aimed at a target density and age distribution of the national population. The goal of an optimal population will require addressing, for the first time, the full range of processes that lock together the economy and the environment, the national interest and the global commons, the welfare of the present generation with that of future generations. The matter should be aired not only in think tanks but in public debate. If humanity then chooses to breed itself and the rest of life into impoverishment, at least it will have done so with open eyes.

— From *The Diversity of Life* by E. O. Wilson

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Human Boom Gives Animals No Room to Roam

By John Stackhouse

Indraneil Das doesn't have to look very far to see India's wildlife crisis.

From his small office near the Bay of Bengal in southern India, he can watch no fewer than 8,000 crocodiles slither, swim and generally lounge about the pits of his reptile farm.

So fiercely were the crocodiles once hunted that the Indian government hired the Center for Herpetology in Mamallapuram in the 1970s to breed the reptile in captivity.

But now that the animal is thriving, perhaps too much so, no one wants the beast back in the wild.

"The local people no longer want crocodiles," Mr. Das said. "It's understandable. Who wants a crocodile in the local fish pond?"

So Mr. Das and his colleagues watch the reptiles multiply and die. Such struggles for space between humans and wildlife are being played out across India with increasing cause for alarm.

In the land that inspired *The Jungle Book*, the subcontinent's vast, rich and diverse wildlife is under siege as never before by 900 million human beings building highways, hydroelectric dams, plantations, factories — and fish ponds.

Extinction threatens not only the glamorous tiger and elephant, but scores of other species, from the Travancore Evening butterfly to the Andaman wild pig to the Olive Ridley turtle.

Squeezed by human growth and ineffective government conservation measures, more than one-fifth of India's 372 mammal species have entered the official endangered list, with many more insects, reptiles and amphibians to follow.

As India's human population heads toward 1.6 billion in the next century in an area one-third the size of China, the prospects for wildlife seem even more dire. A study published this year by the Zoological Survey of India found that as many as 59 species of freshwater fish — more than 10 percent of the total — face a serious threat of extinction because of irrigation schemes, dams and deforestation.

While human expansion threatens much of India's wildlife, inept wildlife management appears equally to blame. In India's lush northeast, a recent investigation by the Worldwide Fund for Nature discovered that the Lakhowa wildlife sanctuary had "vanished" because local forestry officials had sold the land to Bangladeshi immigrants. The sanctuary's 70 rhinos appear to have been poached.

"In the land that inspired 'The Jungle Book,' the sub-continent's vast, rich and diverse wildlife is under siege as never before by 900 million human beings..."

In the Manas sanctuary, also in northeastern India, WWF-India reported massive clear-cutting of forests by a criminal organization and an "alarming rate" of rhinoceros poaching.

Another wildlife sanctuary in northeastern Assam has become home to a military firing range. A study by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature estimated that 8,750 acres of elephant habitat in northeastern India have been lost to military bases.

And the well-protected elephant is running out of space. With about 20,000 pachyderms remaining in the subcontinent, the land squeeze has reached such critical levels that when 50 left a forest in northeastern India last year in search of food, the herd came within a day's march of Calcutta. In their march, the elephants trampled to death six persons and destroyed a wide swath of farmland. ■

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The eminent biologist Garrett Hardin once remarked that "no one ever dies of over population" by which he meant that there are news stories of floods and famines that take lives without mentioning how over-population figured in those disasters. David Paxson, president of World Population Balance, illustrates the point by analyzing, through the population-growth lens, one day's news stories in his home town paper. We reprint this article to call this useful literary device to your attention. Reprinted with permission of the Minneapolis-St.Paul Star-Tribune, *in which it appeared on June 24, 1995.*

All the News That's Fit to Print

By David Paxson

On June 11, I decided to study the *Star Tribune* to see how many articles in that Sunday's paper were about problems that have a common, fundamental cause: human population growth.

I found over 20 such stories. Leading off on page one was "Secret aid to the Serbs." Inside were other articles such as "U.S. moves to jump-start Syrian-Israeli peace talks" and "Bloodshed and grieving in South Africa."

People are often driven to war when they are too numerous for the existing resources or land. If each group in a region had only a fraction of its population or three or four times more land and resources, many territorial or ethnic disputes would not exist.

Of the nearly 5.8 billion people on the planet, 2 billion are poor. Of these, the poorest billion live in absolute poverty and misery. And that number is growing. There is a net increase of three people added to the population of the planet every second. World food harvests are not increasing that fast. Many other renewable and nonrenewable resources are declining as well. Is it any wonder that refugee numbers hit a record 23 million?

Also on page one: "Trouble in paradise," and "North shore is feeling the pressure of its popularity." Related headlines inside included: "Mushers, snowmobilers clash over shoreline trail" and "Grand Portage band of Chippewa buys Red Rock Point to ensure preservation."

Many of the problems cited in these articles would not exist if population was what it was several decades ago — or if the North Shore were five times longer. All around the world we see freedoms restricted as numbers rise and people bump into each other with increasing frequency. Our children are growing up thinking that we've always had to wait for the green light before we can get on the freeway at certain times of the day. Many people do not consider ramp meter lights progress, and population growth plays a major part in restrictions like this.

In an article on the Clinton budget, we see a government struggling to provide certain services, maintain our resource base, provide for national defense and stimulate our economy while the country's population is growing faster than that of any other industrialized nation in the world. As people have less and less elbow room, does it affect a nation's ability to maintain basic freedoms? Certainly. We can see this phenomenon in many other countries.

> ***"How many people can our country sustain ... without damaging the resource base faster than it can recover?"***

The U.S. population is increasing by over 3 million people per year. How does this affect resources, pollution and quality of life? How many people can our country sustain over the long term without damaging the resource base faster than it can recover?

Another article was: "Conference in Minneapolis explores ways to sustain cities: 'Preserve resources for next generation,' speaker says." Will increasing human numbers in areas like the Twin Cities make it easier to preserve resources for the next generation and sustain these cities? Will it be easier to heal racial and ethnic conflict, to raise educational levels and to improve living conditions? I don't know how. Another article deals with gangs, one of many issues that are, in part,

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symptoms of population growing beyond the healthy and sustainable carrying capacity in a community or region.

Other articles, such as "Eagle Creek: Watershed a battleground between nature, development," deal with conservation issues. These are becoming more frequent and more severe as human numbers increase rapidly. In most of these situations, larger population results in more stress and damage to that region's natural resources and its ability to sustain so many people.

These articles are from just one daily newspaper. Although population growth is a driving factor in each of these current problems, it was not identified in any of the articles as a root cause that needs to be addressed.

Some will say that it's not population growth but poverty, or high consumption, or uneven distribution of food, or a flawed economic system, or a corrupt government or lack of opportunity. I heartily agree that each is a factor. I did not say that population growth is the only cause. However, along with these other problems, it needs our intelligent, humane attention.

"I find that millions in our country have heard next to nothing on this issue."

Even if we could double food production and cut pollution in half during the next 40 years, population would double as well, leaving us with twice as many people in absolute poverty.

Some are beginning to doubt that we can even grasp the magnitude of the problem and deal with it soon enough. If we don't, population will double about every 40 years.

If we do not drastically reduce birth rates to balance with death rates, nature will step in by raising death rates. I do not think this is a humane solution. Nor do I believe that repressive measures such as abortion and infanticide, as practiced by some in China, are humane approaches to population stabilization.

Why are many Americans either unaware or doubtful that population growth is a critical problem that needs to be addressed immediately? In my speaking appearances on this subject, I find that millions in our country have heard next to nothing about this issue.

Many people have come up to me shocked at the facts I have presented. They say, "But I've heard for years that U.S. population is decreasing," or "I had no idea population is still growing so fast, let alone the negative consequences on food and resources everywhere."

I believe most Americans are ignorant about the facts because they did not hear about it in school, they see and hear almost nothing about it on television or radio, and they see little about it in articles like the ones cited above.

It is not enough that an occasional elected official understands this issue. It is not enough that there is occasional coverage in the media. This issue is highly sensitive and intertwined with many others. People in politics, education and the media must reach at least a high school level of understanding about this subject or our nation will continue down the road toward greater political, resource and social problems such as crowding, overdevelopment and pollution.

What can a concerned person do? If you own a TV station or newspaper, educate members of your staff about the realities and the magnitude of the population growth issue. When they write a story on a topic affected by population growth, make sure they clearly link the two topics. Other concerned people can make sure elected officials and educators understand.

Our collective denial of the facts reminds me of the drug-addicted person enjoying the party while denying he or she is addicted. The longer we stay "addicted" to increasing population in a world with limited resources, the worse the problem becomes and the harder it will be to recover. ■

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Mark Wegierski is a Toronto-based writer and historian. He is a frequent contributor to THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.

Canada/Québec On the Brink

A Book Review by Mark Wegierski

Although many books have appeared recently on the Canada/Quebec issue, this work "differs from these in that it is written by a Montrealer who now works in Washington [D.C.] and observes the movement towards sovereignty in Quebec from both U.S. and Canadian points of view." Lemco has had a successful career in the U.S. foreign policy/think-tank bureaucracies, so this work may partially be seen as an unofficial expression of some of their thinking. Nevertheless, the book should be viewed more as an explanation of various highly complex matters, rather than a "point-of-view" kind of work. Indeed, the book might well serve as core reading material in many college courses in Canadian studies or politics.

TURMOIL IN THE PEACEABLE KINGDOM: THE QUEBEC SOVEREIGNTY MOVEMENT AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES
By Jonathan Lemco
Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994
266 pages. Cloth: $50.00, Paper $17.95

There are six highly useful appendices in the book: Bill 101: Charter of the French Language; the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (only those sections dealing with language and Quebec, though); a sketch of possible future institutional structures for Canada/Quebec (by Ronald L. Watts); Roadmap Summary Statements — which juxtaposes the positions of different commissions, and the agreements reached regarding the Canadian constitution, on the more critical issues; A Roadmap for National Unity, which looks at some of the key terms/concepts in the Canadian constitutional debate; and the text of the Charlottetown Agreement. Lemco has pulled together in one volume much useful information, including statistical and polling data.

The appendices provide an interesting frame. Bill 101, which passed the province of Quebec's parliament (which is formally called "the National Assembly") on August 26, 1977, a short while after the separatist Parti Québécois had come to power, while immensely popular among French-speaking Québécois, caused enormous resentment in English Canada, and among the English-speaking minorities in Quebec. It proclaimed that "French is the official language of Quebec," and went on to enumerate a long list of enhancing and prohibitive measures to promote the "francization" of Quebec.

Prime Minister Trudeau's Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982) had also caused intense conflict when the Premier of Quebec, René Lévesque of the Parti Québécois, refused to assent to it — because it undermined Quebec's collective rights — thus precipitating a constitutional impasse which has continued to the present day. Trudeau's policy toward the French fact in Canada could be summed up by the phrase: "for Quebec (as a collectivity) — *nothing*; for French Canadians (as individuals) — *everything*."

The Charlottetown Agreement was overwhelmingly rejected by both Quebec and the rest of Canada in the countrywide referendum of 1992. The ambiguity manifest in many places in the Agreement stands in marked contrast to the thoroughgoing nature of Bill 101. The Agreement had been cobbled together by Canada's political leadership in the wake of the failure in 1990 of the Meech Lake Accord of 1987. The great sticking point of the Accord was the recognition of Quebec as a "distinct society" — an obvious historical and sociological fact. A curious coalition arose in English Canada against the Accord — a combination of traditional disdain for Quebec, with the left-liberal fear that a recognition of Quebec's collective rights could possibly result in a "tyrannical," "minority-bashing," Quebec regime.

Many of Lemco's arguments take up the issue of whether Quebec can continue to prosper as an independent or quasi-independent entity. While he

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acknowledges that it would be "viable," he sees the possibility of a quite substantive drop in Quebec's standard of living. As far as the U.S. reaction goes, Lemco argues that the U.S., while generally favoring a united Canada, will neither hasten nor impede a separation process, as long as it can be seen to be the expression of the population of Quebec.

Lemco also points out that the psychological sense of siege among the Québécois has been amplified by their demographic crisis. Quebec has one of the lowest birthrates, and one of the highest abortion rates, in the Western world. The consequences of the so-called "Quiet Revolution" of the 1960s in Quebec, which largely excised the traditional influence of the Roman Catholic Church (in the 1950s, families of fifteen children were not uncommon) have been curiously double-edged in terms of the prospects of Québécois survival. On the one hand, the Québécois gained a modern, technocratic, highly advanced commercial province-wide "state" but, on the other, they now seem to be in danger of losing both their soul and physical existence as a people, in their almost visceral disdain for posterity. (Perhaps the high school drop-out rate of nearly 40 percent is also indicative of deeper tensions.) While Lemco points out that Quebec outside of Montreal is one of the most homogenous areas in North America, if not on the planet, how long is it likely to remain so? The desire by some Québécois to obtain widescale immigration (e.g. from Haiti or former French Africa) — only if it were French-speaking — could also be seen as a negative option by more authentic nationalists.

In a work of general introduction to Canada/Quebec, Lemco has failed to mention one of the major conditioning factors of this relationship — the changing perspective in English Canada on the ideological provenance of Quebec nationalism. Lemco fails to note that, for many liberals, Quebec nationalism was once one of the few European nationalist impulses that they viewed as wholly legitimate. This was because it had an invariably leftward character, as the Québécois were seen as victims of British imperialism. Similarly, Irish nationalism and Catalan identity (attacked by Franco) were viewed favorably. The Québécois were also fortunate that their linguistic and ethnic identity were so closely intertwined — by promoting their language, they were, in effect, promoting their ethnicity (which would otherwise be seen as a democratically illegitimate procedure). As English Canada has become increasingly and more intensely left-liberal in hue, it has developed an ideology-based resentment against the Québécois. English Canada has acquired a harshness toward Quebec which contrasts sharply with the highly accommodating attitude it has toward both aboriginal peoples (who are today in virtually open revolt, and claim almost all of Canadian territory); and visible minorities (most of whom have arrived in Canada in the last three decades, because of very liberal immigration policies). Traditional English Canada is thus delegitimized in the crossfire of aboriginal and visible minority claims (as well as by the gender politics which are probably among the most vociferous in the world), while obsessively focusing on Quebec. (There are now, for example, huge shopping complexes being built north of Toronto, which are effectively, "Chinese-only.")

On October 30, 1995, a decisive referendum on sovereignty was held in Quebec in which over 90 percent of eligible voters took part. The pro-sovereignty side lost by an unusually close margin of less than one percent. They were led by Jacques Parizeau, Quebec Premier and Parti Québécois leader, Lucien Bouchard, leader of the Bloc Québécois in the federal Parliament; and Mario Dumont, the young leader of a smaller sovereigntist party in the Quebec National Assembly. Because of the tightness of the race, Canadian Prime Minister Jean Cretien (who is also from Quebec) hastily promised, five days before the vote, to try again to push through the constitutional recognition of Quebec's "distinctiveness."

In an unbelievably quick development attesting to the prevalent left-liberal climate of Canada, Jacques Parizeau was forced to resign a day after his concession speech in which he said that "sixty percent of us [i.e. French-speakers] voted "Yes," and that the defeat was due to "money and the ethnic vote." For this he was called a "fascist," an "Adolph Hitler," and an "ethnic nationalist," in a massive wave of denunciation that swept the country's media. He was attacked even by some members of his own party.

Current-day Canadian nationalism, it appears, is mainly defined by its embrace of multiculturalism. The irony is that Quebec, with its separatist nationalism, probably has more of a substantive basis as a true nation today than what is often somewhat-curiously called (TROC) "the rest of Canada." ■

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Michael W. Masters writes on issues involving sociobiology and its relationship to contemporary politics. His essays and book reviews have appeared in a number of publications, including THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.

Immigration & I.Q.: The Debate Continues

A Book Review by Michael W. Masters

Seymour Itzkoff's book, *The Decline of Intelligence in America*, received favorable review in the *New York Times* — a genuine surprise since the *Times* is an acknowledged center of liberal thought and Mr. Itzkoff's theme is decidedly un-liberal. His thesis is that, through a confluence of many factors — social, economic, political, ideological and moral — the average intellectual level of the American population is in precipitous decline. Furthermore, since intelligence is a necessary condition for the existence of civilization, the decline experienced in America, and to some degree in other Western nations, has the power to turn America into a Third World nation.

THE DECLINE OF INTELLIGENCE IN AMERICA: A STRATEGY FOR NATIONAL RENEWAL
by Seymour W. Itzkoff
Westport CT: Praeger Publishers
1994, 242 pages, $18.95

Readers of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT will find many similarities between *Decline* and *The Bell Curve* by Charles Murray and the late Richard Herrnstein. But there is an additional twist. While Itzkoff treats intelligence at length, he also creates a vital link between falling national intelligence and the pattern of immigration America is experiencing. Itzkoff makes his case bluntly:

> *The argument of this book is simple: The United States of America is declining as a nation. This decline can be confirmed by any of the criteria that historians have ever used to measure the state and condition of a people ... The real problem is our changing demography.*

As a professor at Smith College, Itzkoff could easily pass for a member of the establishment, but his explanation for America's present plight is frankly inhospitable to the reigning orthodoxy on social issues. The liberal view holds that achievement — especially for ethnic minorities — is determined by environmental factors, such as home life, education and the adverse impact of that favorite liberal excuse, "racism." He comes down solidly on the side of nature in the nature/nurture controversy:

> *Some will protest that the argument from nature is too deterministic. Their tired rationalization is that we still do not know the precise relationship between nature and nurture. Therefore we are honor-bound to try, yet once more, a new and more efficient set of environmental amelioration programs, even after the failure of all the others.*

To this he adds,

> *Intelligence is part of each individual's inheritance, as are one's height and personality ... Because people of similar ethnic backgrounds have usually bred together, it is inevitable that they will share an intellectual and personality profile.*

If this is indeed the case, then the question naturally arises, why is all this not common knowledge?

> *The scientific evidence for the biological roots of our social behavior continues to accumulate, and with incremental speed ... Yet we are paralyzed into inaction by our frustrations with failure. And our nation falls ever more deeply into risk. Why?*

The answer is that we have not been allowed to confront the truth.

> *If a nation bars or places restrictions upon the public examination of any issue, it will inevitably foreclose any possibility for the attainment of truth, and thus the instrumental possibilities for reform and renewal.... That is*

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precisely what we are doing to ourselves. The intellectual leadership of the great public media institutions and the universities has effectively handcuffed our elected political representatives, preventing them from considering solutions. The taboo word is, of course, ***race.***

Itzkoff is careful to point out that both bright and dull individuals appear in all races. However, central to his thesis is the great hidden truth, verified by many researchers, that intelligence also varies by race. He cites the by-now-well-documented fact that the African-American mean [IQ] is in the 80-85 range, compared to a white average of 100. The African average may be even lower, as low as 70 according to Ulster psychologist Richard Lynn.

Less well known is the fact that the average IQ in Mexico is about 95 and that of Central and South American Indians — source of most of the "Latino" immigration — is about 90.

The implications are stark ... Low human intelligence relative to an explosively cerebralized techno-economic and cultural world community has resulted in the historical obsolescence of a vast proportion of the oncoming population of our planet.

The Uninvited Tidal Invasion

Perhaps nowhere is Itzkoff more compelling than in his description of America's future under our present immigration policy. He compared the inexorable course of immigration — which he calls a "hot war" — to the lapping of the incoming tide around a sunbather on the beach:

Imagine you are lying at the beach. Lying on the soft moist sand, ocean wavelets breaking just below you, gulls screeching above, the warm sun, the smell of surf, a delicious unity with nature. The tide is rising in the late afternoon drowse. An oozing of saltwater tickles your heels. The moments flow along in a dreamy doze. Suddenly the water is there again. This time it seems to surge impatiently up your bathing suit and shudders cool water into the small of your back.

You should head up the beach to the dry crowd of umbrellas, into the cacophony of a rock beat and scolding mothers. Just a moment more, but don't wait too long. If it's a real surge, you will be pulled into the beckoning roar. The power of cosmic inevitabilities will drag you down. You may, in one unwary moment, join the eternal chaos.

The tide is immigration, a force that we do not want to confront. We are thus vulnerable to its encompassing embrace. It is an embrace that will suck us back into evolutionary history if we delay too long [emphasis added].

It is at this point in Itzkoff's exposition that he confronts what many believe to be the ultimate truth about immigration. However uncomfortable it may be to liberals, religious people and minorities, civilization is largely the creation of the Northern hemisphere. Given the forces of biological entropy unleashed by immigration — and the irreversible demographic transformation it is wreaking on the north — civilization itself is at risk.

For several hundred thousand years, the genes of evolutionary destiny have been heading south. Also, in little wavelets, they transformed humankind. They created Homo sapiens and then, almost everywhere, Homo sapiens sapiens. The work of evolution is far from complete in our very variable super-species. If it is to be completed, we must halt this uninvited tidal invasion of the genes of the south, at the least until they can be transformed into the form of high intelligence, and all over the world [emphasis added].

Itzkoff admits that this may sound crass but adds,

the situation is crassly serious. The United States, along with other European cultures around the world, is at risk. An epochal change is in process. For the past 35,000 years, the genetics of European intelligence, passed around the world, have laid the groundwork for what we call and treasure as civilization. Civilization in the West is now in jeopardy.

It is the same message Jean Raspail brought forcefully to Western Civilization in his apocolyptic 1973 novel, *The Camp of the Saints.* ■

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Richard M. Hadden was educated at Rutgers and holds graduate degrees from the University of Michigan and Princeton Theological Seminary. He has lived and worked in many of the world's troubled areas. His wife, Frances Roots Hadden, and he are a distinguished duo-piano team who have performed at the White House, and in 1972, were the first American artists to play in the People's Republic of China.

New Vistas for Diplomacy

A Book Review by Richard M. Hadden

Anyone concerned about the causes of failed American diplomatic efforts in Vietnam, the Lebanon civil war, Iran and the Sudan, or eager to know the behind-the-scenes successes of what Joseph Montville has called "Track II Diplomacy" in Rhodesia, the Philippines, and in post-World War II France and Germany, will find this book a fascinating and exciting read.

RELIGION: THE MISSING DIMENSION OF STATECRAFT
Edited by Douglas Johnston and Cynthia Sampson
Oxford University Press
350 pages, hc $29.95, pb $17.95

Years of scholarly research by Douglas Johnston, Cynthia Sampson and their team of contributors has produced fully-documented evidence of religious or spiritually-motivated groups and individuals resolving internal or international conflicts long considered insoluble by seasoned statesmen. Former President Jimmy Carter confirms this in his Foreword to the book and cites Camp David, Zambia and Nicaragua as examples from his own experience.

Edward N. Luttwak, political philosopher and author of "The Endangered American Dream" cites Moral Rearmament's contribution to "one of the greatest achievements in the entire record of modern statecraft: the astonishingly rapid Franco-German reconciliation after 1945." The prevalent hatreds at that time and the repressive nature of the Morgenthau Plan made the mere concept absurd. Further, if as Luttwak claims, "the moral bankruptcy of the established churches," with their vast resources, had rendered them ineffective in reconciling the French and Germans on the basis of their common Christianity, what could MRA hope to accomplish with its smaller numbers and limited resources?

The evolving plan included inviting large numbers of representative German leaders to the MRA World Conference Center at Caux, Switzerland, where they could meet their counterparts from the other war-ravaged countries and — in an atmosphere of trust, honesty and forgiveness — be welcomed back into the family of nations. As no Germans were permitted to leave Germany and few Americans could enter, it required the highest level of clearance from Washington for MRA representatives to visit General Clay, in command of the American Sector, and arrange for visas.

Over tea at the House of Lords, in the fall of 1989, with the Berlin Wall crumbling and East Germany's border with the West opening, Lord Longford mentioned to me how, in 1947 as Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, War Office, and in charge of the British Occupation Zone (he was then known as Lord Pakenham), he arranged for 55 Germans to go to Caux, with the assistance of General Robertson, the Zone Commander. A devout Catholic, he was convinced that, along with food, MRA's work of bringing about a moral and spiritual awakening would do the most good.

From 1946 to 1950 a total of 3,113 Germans from all branches and levels of society, and 1,983 French, attended the Caux meetings. Large numbers of coal and steel industrialists and trade union leaders of both countries developed warm personal relationships there. Italians, Dutch, Belgians, Scandinavians and British were among the 50 nations attending.

In 1948 an MRA force of 250 became the first international civilian group permitted into Germany, invited by German leaders, taking with them a musical, *The Good Road*, and a play, *The Forgotten Factor*; the musical was seen by 200,000 people in 16 performances in 15 days in Munich, Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Essen and Dusseldorf — the play, with a German cast, remained that winter and was seen by

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120,00 miners, industrial and political leaders. One-and-a-half million copies of a handbook portraying the spirit of democracy were distributed in all four zones of occupation. Management and work councils attended some 400 meetings.

The Communist Party had set 1951 as the date for its take-over of the Ruhr, with Germany and Europe next, but on February 9, 1950 the *Manchester Guardian* stated that more than 40 leaders of the Party had either resigned or been expelled because of their connection with Moral Rearmament — a setback from which the Party never recovered.

"Henry Kissinger ... perhaps typical of the diplomatic fraternity's general disregard of religious and moral factors in statesmanship, has at least given this book a nod..."

This writer was in France during 1950 when similar events occurred in the Communist-dominated industrial "red belt" around Paris, and in the coal mines of the Nord where the senior Catholic prelate of France, Cardinal Lienart (Diocese of Lille) termed MRA's effectiveness there "a crack of the whip to Christians who have forgotten their mission." In England, a number of miners, dockers and steel-workers left the Communist Party after being at Caux — among them Fred Copeman, a leading British Communist.

All of this facilitated acceptance of the Schuman Plan when it was proposed in 1950. As Luttwak points out, Schuman's chosen device to guarantee non-aggression and promise full reconciliation was the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community, "now universally recognized as an initiative of world-historical importance," progenitor of the Common Market which in turn is parent of today's European Community. He states, "If MRA had done nothing else, its ancillary role in the creation of the ECSC would alone give it importance in the history of Europe ... it facilitated its realization from the start." Meanwhile, Paul G. Hoffman, Administrator of the Marshall Plan, launched in 1948 for economic recovery and eventually reaching $12 billion in goods and services, evaluated MRA as "the ideological equivalent of the Marshall Plan."

Both Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and Foreign Minister Robert Schuman visited Caux and each decorated MRA's American founder, Dr. Frank Buchman, on behalf of their governments in recognition of his efforts for Franco-German reconciliation.

This book is notable for its many other choice in-depth illustrations of conflict resolution: 1) The Rhodesia-Zimbabwe transition, for its combination of efforts by the Catholic Church and the Quakers, as well as by MRA which already had established a network of friendships across racial lines enabling it in February 1980 to arrange for the secret meeting between Mugabe and Ian Smith, which, according to researcher Ron Craybill, "without a doubt altered the history of the nation."; 2) The Moravians' role in building bridges between the Sandinistas and the East Coast Indians of Nicaragua in the 1980s when the wider Contra war monopolized the headlines; 3) the Quakers' selfless conciliation efforts during the Nigerian civil war; 4) the Catholic Church's powerful influence in the Philippines during the 1986 election and the People Power revolution; and 5) the work of the churches, in a) bringing down the East German government, and b) facilitating the peaceful transition in South Africa.

Henry Kissinger, an exemplar of balance-of-power "realpolitik," and perhaps typical of the diplomatic fraternity's general disregard of religious and moral factors in statesmanship, has at least given this book a nod, calling it a thoughtful collection of essays on "a topic of increasing importance in contemporary world politics." As there is no suggestion of such a conviction in his monumental volume, *Diplomacy*, published several months before this one (a few historical references to religion, none to any diplomatic influence), his comment may give hope that men of Dr. Kissinger's calibre and experience will yet tap this resource. (Where even our President failed to solve the shocking Major League Baseball Strike, Dr. Kissinger might have presented his own double-play combination of "Richelieu to Metternich to Bismarck!")*

Cardinal Richelieu, First Minister of France from 1624-1642, is characterized by Kissinger as a prime example of the traditional separation of church and state, religion and diplomacy: "Though privately religious, he viewed his duties as minister in entirely

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secular terms. Salvation might be his personal objective, but to Richelieu, the statesman, it was irrelevant." That secular mind-set, which still typifies society and the Realist School and deeply concerns the editors of this book, is today a rather tired product of the 18th-century Enlightenment, of Comte and Max Weber with their dismissal of moral values and religious principles as unscientific and therefore irrelevant. The evidence presented here makes a strong case for redressing that imbalance.

The United Nations, having reached its 50th anniversary, but facing formidable challenges, should have brighter prospects due to the availability of non-governmental organizations with significant experience in creating trust, healing and reconciliation. With more than 100 armed conflicts in the world in any given year, and, as Edward Luttwak suggests in his *Foreign Affairs* article (July/Aug 1994), with the former Great Powers no longer able or willing to prevent or contain them, the time has come to reassess our role in the world.

If Samuel P. Huntington is right that the world of the future will be one of different coexisting civilizations, then the U.S. must gain an understanding of the religions and cultures of those civilizations and the extent of their influence. We must stop dictating to other nations how they should act and concentrate on practicing here at home, and abroad, the democratic ideals we so love to proclaim to others. If we do this, our partnerships with the Asian nations can be beneficial to the entire world. If we don't, to echo Kipling, the dawn that comes up "outer China 'crost the bay" will be a thunderous one indeed. ■

* An oblique reference to the famous trio, "Tinker to Evers to Chance," all of whom are in the Baseball Hall of Fame.

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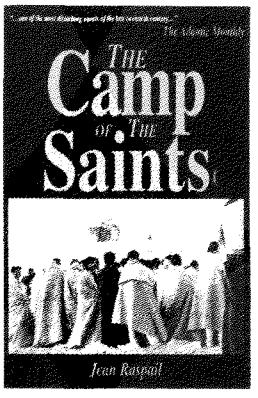

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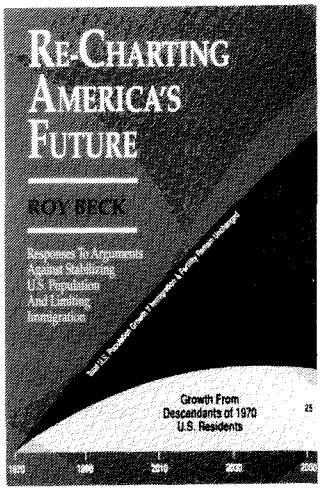

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Bulletin Board

New "Fact Book" Available

The new *INS Fact Book: Summary of Recent Immigration Data*, dated August 1995, is now available. It is full of data on immigration, refugees, non-immigrant admissions, and naturalizations, as well as the INS budget and administrative structure.

In a 3" x 5" format, the booklet runs to 59 pages. For a free copy of this limited edition call the INS Statistics Division at (202) 376-3066.

Also available is the 1993 annual edition of the INS *Statistical Yearbook*, and the 1994 version is in production. These are available by calling the National Technical Information Service at (703) 487-4650. They contain about 160 pages. Recent editions cost $32.00.

Immigration on the Internet

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT journal and THE SOCIAL CONTRACT PRESS are on the internet. The address of our home page is www.freeway.net/soccon/. It displays a statement of mission, information about our journal, a list of books available for sale, a file of articles from several immediately previous issues, and the internet addresses of other groups working in the field of immigration reform and population control.

A number of groups and individuals are coming "on line." Here are the ones we are aware of:

Federation for American Immigration Reform
fair@fairus.org

Center for Immigration Studies (CIS)
center@cis.org

Negative Population Growth (NPG)
negpop@soho.ios.com

Carrying Capacity Network (CCN)
ccn@igc.apc.org

Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS)
caps@calweb.com

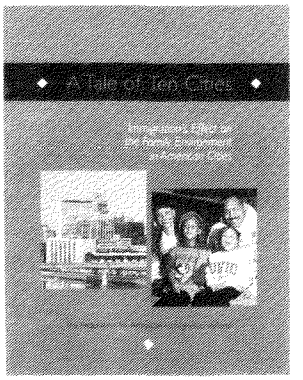
Philip Martin (Monthly *Migration News*)
migrant@primal.ucdavis.edu
also at: gopher://dual.ucdavis.edu

Norman Matloff (many articles, much data)
heather.cs.ucdavis.edu/pub/Immigration/Index.html

and of course, THE SOCIAL CONTRACT's E-mail address: soccon@freeway.net — we'd like to hear from you.

A Tale of Ten Cities:

Immigration's Effect on the Family Environment in American Cities



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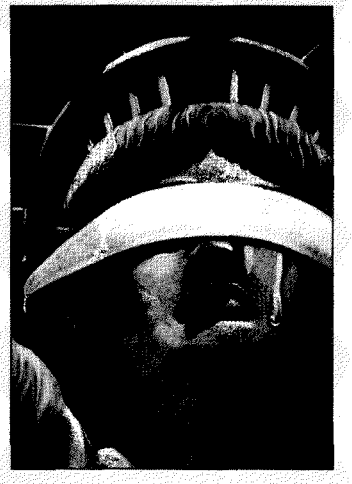

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